Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone. That segmentation has taken this particular form is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk nation and of their king, and it is with his place in the national polity that this lecture is particularly concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang, the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who led them into their present homeland, conquering it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be in every king and to have passed from king to king down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus a mythological personification of the timeless kingship which itself symbolizes the national structure, a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king can be invested with the kingship. As many sons of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent.
[62] Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its
[622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-
[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to
[611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

He[1] makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in

[1] [i.e., the King. - Analyst]

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa. 643 775

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The kingship belongs to all the people and not to the royal clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang [173] was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on [174] these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an 643 644 614

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

643 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The
643 belief that a king may legitimately be assassin-
669 ated by a personal rival is not substantiated by
173 recent Shilluk history any more than the belief that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own
[114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173●
643
669
[114]

has been suggested,[1] but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it. This is the conclusion I have drawn from Father Hofmayr's involved chronicle of the Shilluk kings.[2] It must here be remarked that Shilluk rebellions have not been made against the kingship. On the contrary, they were made to preserve the values embodied in the kingship which were being weakened, or it was believed so, by the individual who held office. They were not revolutions but rebellions against the king in the name of the kingship.

CONCLUSION

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The divine kingship, to one, perhaps the best known, of the examples of which I have devoted this lecture, has been extensively written about by ethnologists, particularly in reference to its occur-

[1] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 64; Prof. and Mrs Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–1. Howell and Thomson (*op. cit.* p. 11 *et passim*) are more reserved.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xiv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Andé, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocolo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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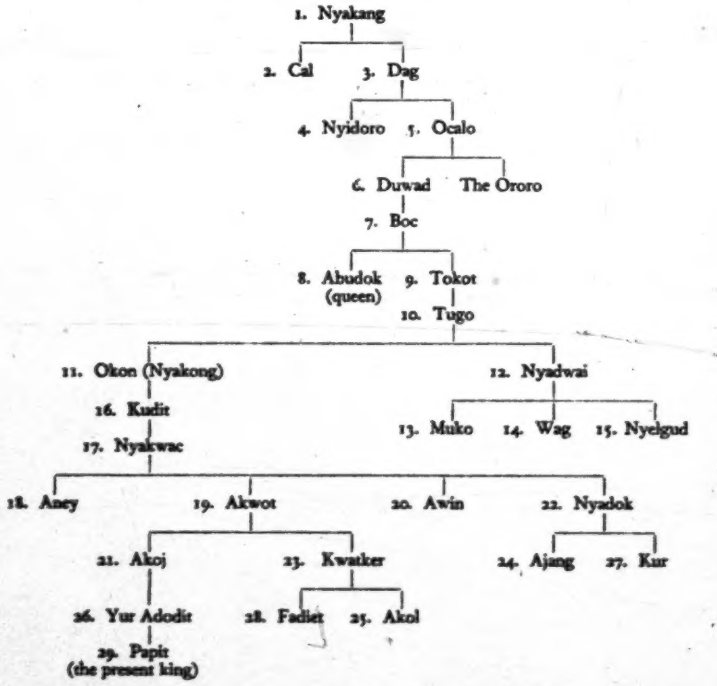
643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house
173 rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on
114 account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.



643 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of
173 Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[113] [1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151–2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
● [173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
nyinyireth, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children
566 again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Hesaty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 771 196 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—

> "He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 [538] [173] Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., 43, 44.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well-informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or posibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given upsome five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, I, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

*539 *būtę. Ka e kōbǫ kine: Shǫlǭ, nɛ̨nì yán bɛ̄ne! fā fà wà kífà kwá! yú nɛni ki ria ki dǫch. Ka ɖāɲ ye: wuò wuò wuò bɛ̄ne. Ka ɖeaɲ kāl, ka shwǫp kifa kōbe rit. Ka ɖǫk kāl, wèkè tyɛn Ńikaɲ. Ka jal ɛni gǫ́ɲ, ka e kɛɖǫ. Ka ɖeaɲ shwǫp, mɛ́n tùmà kwǫ́p. Ka rit e kiti ki lān mɛ̄kǫ, lān duǫɲ, lāne jāgǫ. Ka tɛ̄rǫ e kɛ̄tù, mɛn kɛɖǫ fōte gɛn, mɛn kɛɖǫ fōte gɛ́n*

539 643 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for. [778] They are brought from Akuruwar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dāk, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the midst of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man; they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

● 173 614 643 [According to Hofmeyer (Anthropos V, page 333) this girl is always taken from the clan of the Kwa-okāl: "The Kwa-okāl come from the Bahr el Ghasal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declassed to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, lances, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called nya kwer (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] or: "one day"?
[2] or: "is held fast by"?
[3] vide page 128, 2 a.

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30. The Shilluk kings.

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1. *Ńɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀*	2. *Dâk*	3. *Shâl*
4. *Aiŋ̀ɪ̀ɪ́*	5. *Odâk*	6. *Dɪwɛ̀gɪ*
7. *Bwɛɛch*	8. *D̤ókɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ*	9. *Abúd̤ɔ̀k* (queen)
10. *Túgɔ̀*	11. *Okwɔ̀n, Okōn*	12. *Ńàdwɔ̀di*
13. *Ńàgɪ̀ɪ̀kɛ̀*	14. *Kûdɪt*	15. *Ńùkwɔ̀âchɔ̀*
16. *Anɛ̀i*	17. *Akwɔ̀ɪt*	18. *Awén*
19. *Akɛ́ch*	20. *Ńɛ̀d̤ók*	21. *Kwaṭkɛr*
22. *Ajaŋ̀*	23. *Kwɔ̀yìkwɔ́n*	24. *Yɔ̀r*
25. *Akɛl*	26. *Kûr*	27. *Padyɛ̄t.*

A. E. S. has the following list (according to Father Banholzer at Lul, and Dr. Giffen at Doleib Hill).

1. *Nyakang*	2. *Dag*	3. *Odage*
4. *Kudit*	5. *Dokodo*	6. *Boj*
7. *Tugo*	8. *Nya Dwai*	9. *Nya Ababdo*
10. *Muko*	11. *Nya To*	12. *Nyakong*
13. *Okun*	14. *Nya Greatse (Nkwaji)*	15. *Nyadok*
16. *Akwot*	17. *Ababdo*	18. *Awin*
19. *Akoj*	20. *Nedok (Nyadok)*	21. *Kwad keir*
22. *Ajang*	23. *Gwin kun (Kwoe kon)*	24. *Yor Adodit*
25. *Akol*	26. *Kur Wad Nedok*	27. *Padiet Wad kwad keir.*

31. The Burial of a King.

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Rɪ̀ɪ ka ɪ́ɪ́ wâɪ́ɪ́, ɪ́ɪ́ kɪ̀ɪe wɛɛt. Ka ɖeaṅ chwɔ́p, ka fygnɪ́ yɛ̂ch, ka rêr, ka wumɪ́ rɛ̄rɛ, ka yɛɛn dwai, ka gɛ ńɛ́t, gɛ́n á tákúgɪ̀ kɛ̀l, ka gɛ kwɔṅ fen. Ka dɛ̀l gnɪ kâ gɔ̀ thdɪ̀ tât tabate. Ka gɛ rumɛ kɪ̀ tâdɛ, ka rɪ̀ɪ kɛ̀l; e kúchɔ̀ ɛ̄rɛ, ka kɪ̀ɪe wɛɛt, ka ruk kɪ̀ lāne kwaṅ. Wɔmɔ́n arygu ka gɛ kɛ̀l, ka gɛ kɪ̀ɪe wɛɛt; ka mɛ̄kɛ mīɪ̀ɛ wíjɛ, ka mɛ̄kɛ mīɪ̀ɛ tygɪ̀ɛ; ka mgn ɛ̄ɪ̀ɛ kɪ̀ atábɔ́ kɪ́ dɪ̂k, ka tân ɛ̄ɪ̀ɛ kɪ̀ atābɛ kɪ̀ dāk. Ka wɛɛt mūl, dɛ bu yɛ mgn yeje kɛ̀le yɔ̀mɔ̀. Ka gɛ bɛ̄dɛ wɛɛt, maka dwat arygu. Ká gɪ́ tɪ̂, ka kōng, ka rei gɛ yɔ́kì tɛ̀nɔ̀. Ka gɛ kɪ́là wiy wɛɛt; rin á tûm, ka gɛ dɛ̄ɲa chû. Ka jāk dwai bɛ̄n wɪɪ̀ɛ[1] Tūnɔ, ka wɪɪ̀ɛ[1] Mwɛmɛ, jāgɪ bɛ̄n bɛ̄n. Ka gɛ kɛ̀dɛ, mgn e kàtɪ́ ɖeàṅ; u wanɛ gɛn, ka ɖɔ̀k gnɪ chɔ́ṅ kách dkyɛ̀l, ka gɛ chwɔ̀p.[2] Ka gɛ kɪ́ne: rɪ̀ɪ a wan. Ka ɛ̄rɛ ywɔ́ɲ, ka ɖeaṅ mɛ̄kɛ yɛ̂ch, ka fygn e ńɛ́ɲ, gn aɛ̄p. Ka shū rɪ̀ɪ kɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ yech aɛ̄p, ka kóṅ fen; á kán, ka ywɔ̀k ywɔ̀k. Ka ɛ̄rɛ bɛ̄nɛ bɛ̄ne bɛ̄ne. Ka tɔ́ṅ akɔ́ṅ gɛ gīr, ka gɛ twɔ̂ch, ka gɛ kɪ̀ɪe yí yɛ́, ka okɔ̀t kɪ̀ɪe yí yɛ́ gīr, ka tɪ̂k kɪ̀ɪe yí yɛ́ gīr, ka pwɔ̀kì kɪ̀ɪe yí yɛ́, kɪ̀ tɪ̄mì, kɪ̀ lɪ̄t. Ka jū kɛ̀l, gɛn arygu, mgn akygɪ̀ nāne dɔ̂ch, mgn akygɪ̀ nāne jal, jū mɛgɛ dɛ̄ch, ka gɛ kɪ̀ɪe yí yɛ́, gɛ túòjò, chygɪ́ gɛn fá à ɛ̄chɔ́, kɪ́ tygɪ̀ gɛ́n fá à tɛchɔ́; mɛ̄kɛ ya ɛa yɛ́, mɛ̄kɛ ya yɛɪ yɛ́. Ka yɛ́ keau, ka

[1] *wɪɪ̀ɛ*; reaching T., and reaching M., i. e. from T. unto M. [2] generally: *chwɔ́p.*

*539 622 687 skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate." So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came; the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ka jāk riɛ Tugǫ, jāk a pārɛ́, chwgla Ńewājǫ. Ka wgɛ ka gɛ áɛ́ bīŋǫ, gɛ bīr[2] ga wgɛ chōt, ka gɛ áɛ́ gwgɛǫ wiy pach kɛ́ chāŋǫ. Ka riɛ e kōbǫ kine: bɛ́h, gɛ rɛ ru wgɛ, a rɛ́i gèn gwōɛǫ? Kine: tygre pān gni. A gɛ̄r pān gni, a Pachōdǫ; a dɛgɛ Tugǫ yɛ́ɛ, a kōbɛ́ Tugǫ kine: fān gni y chɛ̄k á pà rɛ̄á! A bāāe áɛ́ rɛ̄á ɛ̄dǫ yɛ́ɛ. A rām á jàgǫ, a kōbɛ́ kine: ka wgda y rɛ̄á, a rɛ̄áɛ́.*

*539 643 ●173 King Tugǫ reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyewājǫ. And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Pachōdǫ. Tugǫ moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief.

[2] From bɛ̄dǫ "to be".

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king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

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Kɛ́ɲ kɛ̨́ jɛ̄ bɛ̨ pl̀dò, ka jɛ̄ kɛ̨dɔ̨, ka jɛ̄ pɛ̨ka pen. Ka pān ɛ̨ni chɔ́ɲ, ka ɖāɲ y' pɛ̨chò, kine: yɔ̄ pīdɔ̨ kàché jám! Kine: kàchè jam kúchè yán![1] Kine: yi nɔ̨́tí kɔ̄pɔ̨? Kine: yi mɛn an? Kine: yi wóu. Kɛ̨ye ɣɛ̨t kúchè yán! Kine: kɪ̨paŋɔ̨ kuche yin? Kine: jal tɛ̨ɲ amɛn? Kine: jal tɛ̨ɲ ɲate. Kine: kwɑ̄ɲ jám! Ka jame kwán. A, ɲate, yi re a pɛ̨m? ɖɔ̨k paɲe dyer? Ka jɛ̄ kɛ̨́ɲ bɛ̨ gɔ́ɲ. Ka jɛ̄ kɛ̨dɔ̨, ka rɪ̨t e yɔ̄t, ka gɔ́ɲ gɔ́ɲ kine: wuo, wɔ̨ chɔ̨́ɲ́ kā ńál àn. Kine: wu kɔma kwɔ̨f aŋɔ̨? Wɔ̨ kɔma kwɔ̨fe ɖɔ̨k. Atɛ́, gɔ̄ɲun! Kine: ɛ́, wuo, wɔ́ bì, cho wɔ̨ pyɛ́jɛ́ ɛ́n kɪ̨ kwɔ̨fe ɖɔ̨k, dɛ́ é kyɛ̀t, cha ɖɔ̨k kújɛ́. A chɔ́ɲà jɛ̀, a chɔ́ɲ jɛ̀, a kɔ́mà kwɔ́p, a kwāɲ jam, ka ɖɔ̨k pɛ̨ka kàché gɛ́n. Ka jɛ̄ yēyɔ̨, jɔ̀k dɲ̀ɲ; dɛ̨ chaka kɛ̨r yau. É, arɛ̨ lɔ́ńé gɔ́ɲ. Kine: wa ɣou ya ɣɔ̄p; dɛ̨ ɖɔ̨k kache gɛ́n kújà, dɛ̨ nɔ̨́tí kɔ̄bɪ̀. Kɛ́ɲ ɛ́ní ànàn, a bāɲ kyɛ́dá. Ka rɪ̨t e lɪ̄kɛ̨ chyɛ̨̄, kine: yɛ̨̄, kinau, yi ba wéi jàl a kɛ̨r! yi re kɛ̨́re ɖɔ̨k tɛ̄rɔ̨? Kwɔ́fí rach! kɛ̨́t, chādí kɪ̨ ɖāɲ! jal, ka yí[2] mách kɪ̨ ɖɔ̨k abich. Ka e mūjɔ̨ kɪ̨ ɖāɲ, ka gɔ̨ kɪ̨́lɛ́, ka tyɛ̨ɲ pūn ɛni chɔ́ɲ, kine: yá chádi kɪ̨ ɖāɲ, kɛ́ɲ ɛni anan. Dɪ̄ch! A kɛ́ɖɛ́, a tyɛ̨ɲi mɛgɔ̨, a chɛ̄ngl tyɛ̨ɲ ɛni, a bɛ̄n, a tyɛ̀re ɖāɲ tɛ̄rɛ̀ gɛ́n. Ka gɛ̨ yēi chyɛ̨̄, kine: dɪ̄ch, wā bà wàt. A kɛ̨́ɲ gɛ́n, a kɔ̄l ɖɔ̨k, ka ɖāɲ mɛ̨kè gɛ́n.

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At a certain time the people went to ask for indemnities, they went to the village (where the debtor lived), and sat down. The people of the village assembled. When the man began to ask, "I want indemnities for certain goods," the debtor replied, "I do not know anything about goods (which I owe you.)" The man asked, "Have you not been told?" He replied, "By whom?" The man said, "By your father." The debtor said again, "I do not know of anything concerning debts." The man said, "Why do you not know it?" Then it was asked, "Who is the judge?" The answer was, "That man is judge." He said, "Count the goods (which you claim from this man)." All the goods were enumerated. The judge said tho the debtor, "Man, why do you deny? Is it not true what he said?" And the people went to bring the matter before the king. They found the king, and the matter was told. They said, "Our lord, we have come with this man." The king asked, "What a palaver do you have?" They answered, "We have a palaver about cattle." "Well," said the king, "tell me!" The accuser said, "Well, our lord, we came to ask him (the debtor) about the matter of the cattle; but he refused; he said, he did not know anything about cattle. So I assembled the people, and when the people were assembled, I talked to him, and enumerated the goods, and the cows (which I so[illegible] owed me) were found right; the people consented (to my statement), the[illegible]d people. He refused again to acknowledge it." After

[1] g is here conditional: "when".
[2] "the place, i. e. the matter, of goods is not known by me".
[3] < yí ɖ "you will".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

V. HISTORICAL TRADITIONS.

36. Nyadwai.

Ńa riɨ̱ mɛ̱kɔ, chwɔlá Ńadwai, ńí māyɔ rech. Ka rech mɛ̱kɔ dyɛ́rɛ̀ yɛ́n, jal mɛ̱kɔ ńiŋ́g ba Ogam. A kōbí Ogam kine: kipaŋ́ɔ? Kine: baɟe ńa riɨ̱? Kine: ɓ[1] rʊ́ń yí mɛn? Wiɟɛ dugń! Kine: dɟ̱ɛ̀h yàu. A bɛ̱́dɛ́.

Ńadwai a rʊ́ńe, Ogam ya Mɛ̱ŋ́ɔ. A lʊ́ńí kine: Ńadwai rɛ̱ńɛ́. A kōbí kine: bɛ́h! Ko: a pɛ̱̄l Ogam! A kōbí Ńadwai kine: dwai Ogam! A dwâi, a ɠɔ̱́ɗ kí ɠɛ̱k, a gɛ̱rɨ pārɛ, a ńɔmɨ mɛn, ka pārɛ dɛ̱ŋ́ɔ. Ka e ńwɔ̱lí ńwɔ̱l mágɛ̱r. A chwɛ̱̱́lɛ́, a nɛ̱̄gɛ́ kí ńwɔ̱le lɛ̱n yí Ńadwai, a puɨ̱ pārɛ pɛ́ń.

A certain prince called Nyadwai, was fishing. And he wanted a certain fish, the fish of Ogam (a fish which Ogam had caught). Ogam asked, "Why (should I give my fish to the prince)?" The people replied, "Is he not a prince?" Ogam said, "By whom will he ever be elected? He has such a big head!" The people replied, "Well, all right (do as you think best)." He refused.

But Nyadwai was elected king, while Ogam was at Manyɔ. There he heard the talk, "Nyadwai has been elected." When he heard it, he said to himself, "Dear me!" (But Nyadwai) said (to himself), "This cursed Ogam!" Some time later Nyadwai sent word, "Bring Ogam!" Ogam was brought; the king gave him cattle, built him a village, he married a woman, and his village became large; he got many children. But one day he was called by Nyadwai, Nyadwai killed him and all his children, and he destroyed his village.

37. Golit.

Ńa riɨ̱ Golit ka e lɛ̱ɲ́ɛ̀, ka pɛ̱̄ka wiy Pijɔ, ko: ya dwata yɛy nam. Ka jaŋ́e lɨ̄gɛ́[2] e kygɛ̀ɔ kine: nam yɛjɛ kɔŋɔ kí yā! Kine ya kyɛt. A mɛ̱jí ɠɛ̱ɲɔ; a wiɨ̱í yaɟe pí, a kɛ́ɟɛ́, a pɛ̱̄ka yɛy nam bɛ̱̄ mɛ̱ńɛ̀ kí ɠɛ̱k. A mɛ̱ŋ́ wɛ̱̱dɛ́, a mágɛ́ je lɛ̱n, a kɛ́ɟɛ́; a gɨ̱́í Lwanidɛ̱̄i, a mágí gɔ̀n, a kōl ɠeaŋ́ pach lɛ̱ɲ̀ɛ̀, a kɛ̱̱lí jaŋ́ Ńɛ̱̄k a chɨ̱bí gɛ ka, a gɛ̱rɛ̀ pārɛ Ńɛ̱ɔ̄k, ńí kɛ̱bɔ kí ɠɔ tɛ̱rɛ.

The prince Golit came, and settled at the mouth of the river Pijɔ; he said (to the chief there), "I want to settle (on the island) in the middle of the river." But the chief who ruled there refused, saying, "I myself like the island in the river, I refuse!" Then the prince gave him a man (slave), and on that the chief sprinkled the boats with water (that is, gave them permission to go on the island). The prince went on the island, and settled down there to steal cows. He sent his son to capture people (and their cattle), he captured all the people

[1] instead of the usual ɠ.

[2] "the chief of the magistrate", i. e. the ruling chief.

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173 *539 there, and after that went to Lwangdeng, and captured this village, he brought all the cows into his village. After that he brought Dinkas of Ngok,[1] and settled them in the place (of the village Lw.), he built them the village of Nyejök; and those people too used to steal the cattle of the people.

38. Nyimo.

*539 *Ńa ríl Ńimǫ, gɛ kí ka ríl mɔ̀tǫ, ka gɛ cí chaŋl, ka gɛ cí ryɔ́ch,[2] ka lɔ́fɔ wil gɛ́n, ka lɔ́fɔ Ńimǫ cí kíp, kapa yí ka rǎp gwí. Ka Ńakwach e wɔ́r, ka cí dʼɔ́gɛ kʼɛ́tɛ.*

Ka pɔ̀rɛ kyɛr, á thɔ́lɛr, Otudi, pa wɛt Ńakwach. Ka e jɔ̀gɛ e dʼɔ́ch, dɛ ba war, ka dɛgɛ cí kíp yí ríwɛ́n; a kɔ́bí ríl kʼɛ́ɛ: ɣ tích adí? A gɔ̀p kí bɔ́ɔ́ mɔ́dʼɔ́ɔ́, mɛn gɔ́ɔ́ rɛ kʼɔ́a ka kʼɔ́dʼɛ́; gɛ[3] cí kɔ́ɔ́ gɔ́[3] ɛ́ɛ.

173 *539 The prince Nyimǫ was, together with another prince, invited to a meal. They had their clubs with them, and (in the course of the festival) the club of Nyimǫ was taken away from him by force, it was taken away by that other prince. When his father, king Nyakwach (who was also present at the festival) saw that, he was very angry,[4] and he went home alone.

He built for his son a big village, Otudi, this was to be the village of the son of Nyakwach. And he (the son) reigned well, but he was a coward. His cattle used to be robbed by his brothers. The king said, "Ah, what is to be done?" He gave him a great number of slaves to protect him, on account of his fear. They were to help him.

39. Nyadoke.

*539 *A rɔ́ɔ́ Nàdʼɔ́kí, a jɔ́pɛ́, a kɔ́bí kʼɛ́ɛ: á, ya gɛ́ɛ́ fɔ́ɔ wɛ̀k! A gɛ́ɛ́ pɔ̀r Pɔ́bǫ. Weyo kʼɔ́dʼí bute Dɛ́ɛ́! A gɛ́ɛ́ pɔ̀rɛ Dɛ́ɛ́. A kʼɛ́t gɛɛ kí Dɛ́ɛ́ǫ, a jɔ́pɛ́, a cí nɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ lɛ́ɛ́k, a cí chámɛ́ yí Dɛ́ɛ́ǫ, a cí kwɔ́chɛ́ yí Dɛ́ɛ́ǫ. Ka Dɛ́ɛ́ cí gɔ̀p lɛ́ɛ́k, a kʼɔ́da rǎp (rǎp) Dɛ́ɛ́ǫ. Ka cí tʃɛ̀ kɛ́ɛ, ka Dɛ́ɛ́ cí tʃɛ́ɛ kí jɛmɛ, chɛmɛ́ kʼɔ́ wɛ̀k, ka kɛ́ɛ cí mɔ́dʼɔ́. A cí kɔ́ɛ́ bɛ́r, mɛn chɛ́k lɛ́ɛ́k, ka lɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kʼɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ yɛ́y bɛ́r, ka Dɛ́ɛ́ǫ cí yɔ́ɔ́, a chɛ́ɛ́ɛ rǎp dɛ́ɛ́.*

173 *539 Nyadóke was elected. While he was reigning, one day he said, "Well, I will build my village in the bush!" He built the village of Pɔ́bǫ. Again he said, "Let me reside beside the Nubians!" He built a village in the Nubian country. He lived together with the Nubians, being their king. He used to kill elephants, the Nubians used to ask him for the elephants' meat, he gave it to them, and they ate it. So he was the king of the Nubians. — When the Nubians are without rain, they are accustomed to put on all their adornments, and go out into the

[1] *Ńgk*, A Dinka-District south of the Sobat.
[2] "and they were called, and they were invited."
[3] *gɛ* relates to the slaves, it has therefore the meaning of a plural.
[4] because his son allowed his club to be taken away from him.

bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadîko used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

Pâŋ Dôlâŋ kâ à nâɲâ, nɔ́ɔ́ fíŋɛ Ḍɔ́ɔ́, ka gâl yí Dôlâ, Ḍɔ́ɔ́ nî rɛ́ɛ́á nâl wíŋ kît. Ka ɛ ka: bầk, dɛ̀ Ḍɔ́ɔ́ a gâlî yáɛ́, ŋ tîch kâl? (í rɛ́ (yɛ́) wá ɣîch! Ka gâŋ rɛ̂î, ka ɛ ka: yaŋ kît! Ka kît a yâch, ka ɣâŋɣ kâɛ́ fɛ́n. A nâŋí Ḍɔ́ɔ́, a kâl gíɛ́n, a ɣârí ŋɣ yârá, ŋɣ lɛ́ŋɣ bâɛ́; a châŋɛ́ nîɛ́a fîn gwí ŋɣ Adɛ́kɛ́ŋ.

A kâl nâr, a ámak ŋɣ bwɛ́nɛ́, ka bwɛ́nɛ́ nâŋɛ́, kâl gíɛ́n, a lɛ́ŋɣ bâɛ́, a ɣârí yaɛ́k, ŋɣɛ́ Awɛ́rɛ́jwɔ̀k. Ka Chɔ̂l̂ kîlɛ́ kíɛ́: a rîŋɛ́ á, a rîch nâɛ́? A ka kíɛ́: bầk! Kíɛ́: Chɔ̂l, kɛ́ŋɛ́ kwɛ́ɣí ámín? A kwɛ́ɛ́ nâr, a ŋɛ́ɛ́ ɣí nám, ka Chɔ̂lɛ́ ɛ wɛ́ɛ́ kí yà nâr kí kɔ̂lɛ́ yárɛ́.

Pɛ́ŋ nâɲɛ́ chɛ́ŋɛ́á Oầɣɔ́, ka Chɔ̂l nî kɛ́ɛ́ kí jɛ́r, ka Chɔ̂lɛ́ nî chɛ́ɣɛ́. Ka rîŋ ɛ rɔ́ɛ́, Chɔ̂l dɛ̀ chɛ́ɣɛ́; a rɛ́ɛ́ Akwɛ́t. Ka Akwɛ́t ɛ nɔ́ɔ́ŋ; ka lɛ́ɛ́ chɛ́ɣɛ́á, ka ɛ kɛ́ɛ́á, ka ɛ ka: bầk, wá yâɣɔ́ dî? A kɛ́ɛ́ kɔ̂l Oầɣɔ́, a chɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ bɛ́ɛ́ Ḍɔ́ɔ́lɛ́, a ɣɛ́ɛ́ɣɛ́ gín kíɛ́: nɔ́r a kɛ́ɛ́ kâɛ́? A kîlɛ́ jɛ́l nɔ́ɔ́ŋ kíɛ́: ŋ tîch nâî? Kíɛ́: ŋ dwɛ́ɛ́ nâm! Kíɛ́: bầk, Akwɛ́t, dɛ̀ kâ gîn? yí kɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́r kɔ́ɔ́ɣ? A kîlɛ́ kíɛ́: yá kâ wɛ́ɛ́á! Kíɛ́: dɛ̀! A kɛ́ɛ́r yɛ́ɛ́, a kɛ́ɛ́r ɣɛ́r. A kâl gîɛ́, a mɛ́ɛ́k ɣɛ́ɛ́á Oầɣɔ́ɣ, a kâl ɣɛ́ɛ́á nɔ́ɔ́ŋ, a nâɣí Wɛ́jwɔ̀k, a kɛ́l ɣɛ́ɛ́á nɔ́ɔ́ɛ́, a nâɣɛ́ yí Adɛ́kɛ́ŋɛ́, a kɛ́l ɣɛ́ɛ́á nɔ́ɔ́ŋ, a kɔ́ɔ́ŋ ŋɛ́ɛ́ŋ ɣɛ́, a Ḍɔ́ɔ́ŋ, a chwɛ́ɣ ɣîɛ́á. A kɔ́ɔ́ŋ Akwɛ́t fîɛ́, a rɛ́ɛ́ ɲa yí, kɛ́ í chwɛ́ɣɛ́. Ka Chɔ̂lɛ́ kîlɛ́ kíɛ́: rîŋ tîɛ́, ka kí kɔ́ɔ́ŋ! Ka chɛ́ɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́ŋ mɛ́ɛ́l, chɛ́ɛ́ ɛ kɛ́ɛ́kɛ́, ka rîŋ kɔ́ɔ́ŋ, ka nɛ́ɛ́r kɛ́ɛ́ŋ ɲa yí. A kîlɛ́ kíɛ́: thɛ́ lît! A kɔ́ɔ́ lît, a nɛ́ɛ́ Dîɛ́jɛ́l, a nâɣɛ́, a nɛ́ɛ́ ámɛ́ɛ́lɛ́, ka ɣîɛ́ ɛ kîl kí mɔ́ɔ́d. A nɛ́ɛ́ŋ Aɣɔ̂r, a nɛ́ɛ́ŋ Chɛ́ɛ́, a mầk ɲɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́á, a kîlɛ́ Chɔ̂l̂ kíɛ́: a rîŋɛ́ á, a chɔ́ɔ́ŋ kíɣɔ́ɔ́lɛ́? A ka: bầk, kwɛ́ɣí, yíɛ́a Chɔ̂l̂! A kwɛ́ɛ́ nâr, a ŋɛ́ɛ́ ɣí nám.

King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adɛ́kɛ́ŋ.

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awɛ́rɛ́jwɔ̀k.

But the Shillucks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.
[2] This shows how Nubian colonies came into the Shilluk country.
[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom. It was to be filled with "holy water" (yí ɲwɔ̀k), which was used for different religious rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.
[4] The Shillucks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

● 173 ✱539 The king replied, "Why, ye Shilluks, is that your talk now?" He took the pot and thrust it (angrily) into the river. Thus the pot ("the way to the pot") was lost to the Shilluks in the front of the village of the king.

There was another village, called Ongugo; the Shilluks (of this village) fought with some foreign tribe, and were chased. Another king was elected, but again the Shilluks were chased. Then Akwot was elected, and Akwot went out to conquer (this tribe). But his army was defeated. When he came home, he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do?" He came towards Ongugo, and the wives of Dokot, he asked them, „Where has the silver pot been thrown into the river?" Some man replied, "Why do you ask?" He said, "It is to be brought out from the river." The man exclaimed, "Oh dear, Akwot, is that true (is that what you are going to do)? Will you not miss the place where it lies?" The king said, "I shall not miss it." The man replied, "All right." They rowed boats, they rowed them towards the place where they were. Cows were brought, one cow was caught and given to the village of Ongugo, another cow was caught and given to Wajwok, another was given to Adokong.[1] Then another cow was brought, and the people went to the river, a prayer was spoken, the cow was speared (sacrificed), and Akwot went to the bottom of the river, he dived under the water; he stayed there a long time; the Shilluks said, "The king is away, he does not come back." The sun was rising, and when it began to sink, the king came from out of the water, he had brought the silver pot from the bottom of the river. He said, "Now raise an army!" The army was to defeat Dingjol (the Dinka country near Renk). They destroyed it, its children were captured, the cattle was taken away together with the women. He conquered Agar too, he conquered Chai (near Rossires), he defeated the whole country. When the Shilluks saw that, they said, "What king is that, that he is always continuing in warfare?" He replied, "Oh dear! is that now your talk, ye Shilluks?" He took the silver pot, and thrust it into the river.[2]

41. Nyakwach.

✱539 *Bɨ̱ Nakwach ka e jɔ̱ɔ̱k, ka wute Nadwoi wɔ̱ɔ́ kiɲe atɨ̀r; ka ɛ̀ɔ̀ɲɔ̀ wute wɔ̱ɔ́ Nadwoi wɔ̱ɔ́; ka e chwɔ̱tɨ̱ kiɲe: wuna a yɔ̱̀ ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀k, bí ɛ̀ɲɛ̱! Ka ɛ̀ɲɛ̱ kɨ̀ɲɛ̱, ɛ̀ kɔ̀tɔ̀ tɨ̀ɔ́; ka e kwɔ̱ɔ̱ɲ, ka ɛ̀kɔ̀ɲɔ̀ kɔ̀l. Ka e chwɔ̱tɨ̱ kiɲe: bí ɛ̀ɲɛ̱! Ka ɛ̀ɲɛ̱ bɛ̀ɛ̀ yɔ́ɔ̱. Ka e ka: yɛ̀ (yɛ̀ɛ̀) yɔ́l, ó kɔ̀ɔ̀? A ɛ̀kɔ̀ɲɔ̀ kiɲeɛ̀? Kiɲe: wɔ̱ wɔ̀rɔ̀! yí wɔ̀ɛ̀ ɔ́ɔ̱ kɨ̀ jɔ̀? Kiɲe: gɛ̀ɛ̀ (yɔ́ɔ̱) a ka wɔ̱ɔ́ yɔ́ɛ̀? Kiɲe: ka wɔ̀ɛ̀ kɨ̀ atɨ̀r; yɔ̱̀ɔ̀ ka chɔ̱ɔ̱tɛ̀ wu, a kɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ wɔ̱ɔ́ yɔ́ɛ̀. Kiɲe: ɲɔ̱̀ɔ̱ɲ wɔ̱ɔ̱ɲ? ɲ̀ ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ kɨ̀ jɔ̱ɔ̱, wu, wu wɔ̱ɔ̱ wɔ̱ɔ́! Puɔ̀ɔ̀ ɲɔ̀, a kɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ wɔ̱ɔ́ ɲɔ̀ɔ̀? Kiɲe: ɛ̀ɔ̱̀, ɛ̀, ɛ̀ɲɔ̀! Wɨ̱ ɲɔ̱̀ ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ a ɟɔ̱ɔ̱ɲ ɟɛ̀ɛ̀. Kiɲe: Nakwacha, a kɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ chɔ̱ɔ̱ kɨ̀ jɔ̱ɔ̱ɲ. Wɨ̱ ɛ̀ɲ ɔ̀ɔ̀ ɔ chɔ̀ɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲɛ̀? A ɗɔ̱ɔ̱ɲ ɛ̀ɲɛ̱.

[1] The cows were offered as sacrifices, one by the village Ongugo, and so on.
[2] From that time the silver pot is irreparably lost to the Shilluks.
† "come to-morrow", that is, in future time.

A kɔ̀ɔ̀ Nakwach kìnɛ: gɛ́r fín lì dɛ̀cì. Ka ɔamɡ̀ɡa, wɡɛ́ ɔ́tùɔ́, chwɡ̀l ga ɔá rìɛ́. 539 ✶
A chwɡ̀lɛ́ gɛ (gì) Bachɔ̀dɛ̀: a kɛ̀ɛ́ gɛn (gín), a yɡɛ́ kɛ́lɛ́ gín, a kwaɔ́ɛ́ kwí gín, mɡ́k jɔ̀k gín lì Bachɔ̀dɛ̀.

Ka jal wɡ̀kɛ̀ ɛ kɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ɛ́ɡ, ka baɔ́ɛ rìɛ́ ɔ́í yɔ́jɛ̀, ka kwr ɔ́í kɔ̀lɛ̀, ka ɔ́í chɔ̀l. Ka ɔ́í chɛ̀ɔ̀ kɔ̀ɔ̀ɡ, ka ɔ́í chɔ̀l. A bɔ̀ɛ́ ko (kɔ̀r) ɔ́a rìɛ́, ka ɛ ka: bɡ̀k! u fick adi? ɛ̀ dɛ̀ch yau! A chɛ̀ɔ̀ kɔ̀ɔ̀ɡ kì kwr, a mɔ̀k ɡ̀ɡ̀k yí rìɛ́, a kɔ̀l gɛ Bachɔ̀dɛ̀, ka pach ɛ dɛ̀ɲɛ́ ɛ́ ɔ̀ù ɔ̀ù.

Ka wɔ̀ɡ̀ɛ́ ɔal dwɡ̀ɔ́ ka ɛ kɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ̀, ka ɡ̀ɡ̀k yɔ́dɛ́ yí tɛ̀r, ka ɡ̀ɡ̀k kɛ́jɛ́. Ka rìɛ́ ɛ fɛ̀chɔ̀ kìnɛ: ɡ̀ɡ̀k gɛɣ a kɔ̀l? yɛ̀k Nakwach. Kìnɛ: bɡ̀k, ɣ ɔal a gwɡ̀k adi? ɛ̀, kwɡ̀fɛ rach. Dɛ̀ɛ̀k ou, wei kɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ gɛn.

A kɔ̀ɔ̀ gɛn, a ɡɛ̀ɔ̀ɡ wíɣɛ kìnɛ: ɡ̀ɡ̀k kɔ̀l yí kɛ́ɛ́? Kìnɛ: kɛ̀ɛ́ɡ Bachɔ̀dɛ̀. Kìnɛ: ɛ̀! a chɡ̀ɛ́ɡ wɡɛ́ɡ, a kɔ̀ɡ́ɛ́ gín kìnɛ: ɔáɔ́ ɔal gwí! A kɛ̀ɛ́ jɔ̀, a chɛ̀te, ka ɛ rɛ́ɛ́o, ka ɔán ou ɔ́í wɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ́ rɛ, gɛ ɔ́í kɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ́ kɔ̀ɔ̀; ka ɔ́í ɡɔ̀ɡ̀ɛ̀, ka gɛ ɔ́í kɔ̀pɛ́ kìnɛ: rʌ́h! A lɛn ɔal dwɡ̀ɔ́, a kɛ̀ɛ́ gɛn, a wɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ́ gín. A kɛ̀ɛ́ɔ pach, a ɣɣɛɣ gɛn kìnɛ: yū (yūn) gɡ̀l, a kɡ̀ɔ́l? ɔamɔ̀ɣɡ ɛ tɛ̀ɛ́ wun adi? Kìnɛ: ɛ wɡ̀k! Kìnɛ: yí mán ùn? Kìnɛ: yí ɔal dwɡ̀ɔ́. Kìnɛ: bɡ̀k! wɡ̀ɡ̀k a ɛ̀ɲɔ̀n? Ka ɛ ɡwɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ̀, ka kɔ́ wɡɛ, ka ɛ rìɣɡ; ɛ fa chūmg kí gín chom, ɛ ɣwɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ́. A kɛ̀ɛ́ wɡ̀k, a chɡ̀ɛ́ gín, a kɔ̀ɔ̀ɡ kìnɛ: ɔal, bang yín a ɡ̀k wɡ̀da? Yí ɣ chɡ̀k, gɡ̀ɔ̀ wɡɣí tɛ́ɔ́! Chwɔ̀ld yín a roí ɔal ɔamɔ̀ɣɡ, dɛ ɛ tɔ́ɔ́! Ko: ɛ̀, chwɔ̀ld gín ɔal dwɡ̀ɔ́, a yɡ̀jí dìdɛ kwɣɡ́! ɛ̀, yí rach. A kɛ̀ɛ́ yí ɡ̀ɡ̀k, a ɔ́í kɛchí gín, gín ɔ́í kɡ̀ɡ̀ɛ́ pūn ɔbɣ̀ɡ̀ɛ̀, a gín ɔ́í kūng. 173 ● 539 ✶

When King Nyakwach reigned, he killed the children of (his brother) Nyadwal, because he feared their enmity; and his brothers who had been born by the women of Nyadwal's village, he also killed. Then he called out, "You, who are my real brothers, you people come!" The people came carrying their spears. When Nyakwach saw that, he was afraid and remained within his enclosure. Again he called out, "Come, you people!" And the people came to him. He asked them, "My children, how is it that you are walking thus (armed)?" They replied, "We are angry, why do you kill people?" He answered, "Why should I not kill them? I killed them because of their enmity, (and do you not remember that) their family chased us away? Therefore I have killed them. If at a future time they should have come to power, surely we should have been killed. Is it not for this reason that I killed them?" The people replied, "Well, eh, all right, their family has perished." Again they said, "Nyakwach, you formerly refused to be elected as king.[1] By whom should we have been avenged (if not by you)?"

The people returned home. Nyakwach said, "Restore the town well; and my nephews, the children of my brothers, shall be called 'children of the king'." He called them (his nephews) to Fashoda.[2] They went, and he picked some from among them, and the rest he took to be chiefs of Fashoda.

A certain man (one of these nephews of the king) went one day and slept with

[1] This seems to point to the preceding story.
[2] The chief town of the Shilluk country, and residence of the king.

●173 *539 the wives of the king. He paid the fine for adultery. But again he did an evil thing, and had to pay a fine. At last the king got tired of this, and he said, "Why, what is that? eh, never mind!" When this man once more did mischief, the king had all the cattle of that (man's) village seized and brought to Fashoda; so the village was left without a single cow.

The eldest son of this man (of the evildoer) went and found the cattle (of his father) in a pasture.[1] He separated those belonging to his father from the rest and drove them home. When the king heard that the cattle were away, he asked, "Why have the cattle been taken away?" So said Nyakwach. (When he heard that this same man's son had taken them) he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do with this boy? eh, his affair is very bad! Well, never mind, let him go with them."

When the boy came home with his cattle, his father asked him, "From where has the cattle been brought?" He answered, "I have brought it from Fashoda." The father said, "All right." He assembled his sons and told them, "Kill this boy!" The people went away, they chased him, he ran away. And the pursuers came close to him, they were just near enough to stab him, then the boy (stumbled and) fell down. They told him, "Run!" (They did not want to kill him). But his eldest brother stabbed him, and killed him. When they came home, the father asked them, "Children, how is it? How did you deal with your brother?" They said, "He is killed!" The father asked, "By whom?" They answered, „By his eldest brother." The father exclaimed, "Why, my son has been killed by you?" He rose up, went into his hut, and remained there. He did not eat any food, he wept. And he came out again and assembled his sons, saying to the eldest, "My son, is it not you who killed my son? Your descendants shall always be killed by the spear! I thought you would protect your brother, and you have killed him!" Again he said, "Oh, I thought, you, the eldest one, had a heart which was wise! no, you are wicked."

Then he went to the cattle, he separated them: some he brought to another village, and some he hid.

42. The False Prophets.

*539 *Wan a kɲuí rôr, ka gɛ chɔ́; rôŋ ɔkɲíc ɔlwɔlɔ Ɔbɔ̂l, rôŋ ɔkɲí ɔlwɔlɔ Dîŋ, rôŋ ɔkwɛl ɔlwɔlɔ Nʼîŋdɔ́. Ka ɛɛ kɲɔ, ka Dîŋdî ɔl kwɔ̂ɔ̂l ɔlwɔlɔ rôŋ, bî gɛ rôr Ka. Ka tɛŋ chɔ́ŋ, ka gɛ kɲíc Bɔchîdŋ, ka rîŋ e ka: kɲî! ŋ rôr tîch ɔ̂ɔ̂l? Ka gɛ kɲíc, ka kɔ́ɔ́ rîŋ kɲɛ́, ka rîŋ wɔ́ɲc wɔ́ɔ, ka rîŋ e ɔ̂ɔ̂ŋ: ka ɟɲî kɲɛ́, ka rîŋ chɔ́ŋ rɔ́ŋ, kî ɔ wɛ̂ɲ kí mɔ́ɲɛ́, ka ɔɛ̂ɲɛ ɟɲɛ́ɛ́ ɟɲɛ́c, ka ɟɲɛ́c kɔ́ɲɛ́ bɔ́dc, ka ɛɛɲɛ́ kɲɛ́ chîŋ, ka tɛ́ɛ́ kwɔ̂ɔ́, ka tɔɔ́ kwɔ̂ɔ, kí é kɲɛ́ɔ. kɲɛ́ yí pîn. Ka jɔ́l a Dîŋ ɟɲɛ́ɛ́ mɔɔ́,*

[1] where they had been brought by the king's people.

ka puŋ̀ pwé, e ŋ̀; ka jal a Okwâ ka lél, ka e ŋ̀; ka jal a kìlíŋ́ Nikwée, ka e pàrú á ŋ̀kéŋ́ yìnà; ká lél pínà, ka ŋ̀rú ekíŋ́ó. 639*

Ka wudo ekíŋ́ó, ka kyɛ̀ɛ́ e wúnú, a mâk Chɔ́ŋ́ yí kɛ̀nà; a kɛ̀ɛ́ ŋ̀rí yíŋ́ó Nuɔr, a ámɔ́n ŋ̀rú kyɛ̀ɛ́ Nuɔr; ka Chɔ́ŋ́ ní pɔ̀ɔ̀ yí Nuɔr kuŋ́ lɛ́nà, ka Chɔ́ŋ́ kɔ́: kuŋ́ pwɛ́nà yí kɛ̀nà, ka mɔ́ŋ́ ŋ̀kúŋ́ ní kɛ̀ɛ́kí. A chɛ̀ɛ̀ kyɛ̀ɛ́, a kɛ̀ɛ́ ŋ̀rú ŋ̀ɔ̀.

At a certain time the "kings" came, they used to dance (the dances of Nyikang); one "king" called himself Okwa, one called himself Dâk, and the third called himself Nyikang. And they came (into the villages of the Shilluks); the Shilluks used to pray to them, calling them "king", — it was in the time of king Ku —, and the people danced.[1] They (the "kings") went to Fashoda. The king said, "Why, what is the matter with these kings?" And they (the would-be kings) went, and took the wives of the king by force. The king was much perplexed, he was in great confusion. They stole cattle too. Then the king became very angry, he sang a war-song early in the morning, he tied his bead-necklaces round his neck, put his arm-rings on his arm, fastened bells about his wrist, he took a spear, he took a gun, and he went, he went towards them. And the man who called himself Dâk he shot with the gun, he fell upon the ground and died. And the man "Okwa" was speared, and he died; the man who was called Nyikang fled, he turned towards the bush. Then the drum was beaten, and the people danced (*for joy*). 1730 539*

(About this time) a north wind blew, and the dura was burned, the Shilluks were seized with hunger. The people went to the Nuer country, to buy dura of the Nuers. And the Shilluks were beaten by the Nuers, in the time of this strong famine. The Shilluks say, ("In this time) some were starved, and some gave away their children for dura." — But when the next dura-harvest was brought, the people were relieved.

[*In the first part of this story it is related, how some impostors pretend to be the ancient kings, who have come into this world again; the people believe in them and pray to them, and the "false prophets" take advantage of this to rob the people, till their proceedings are brought to an end by the king.*]

43. The Prince who refused to be King.

*Ka ebe kwɔ̀ɔ̀ dhɔ̀ɔ́ ekíŋ́ó, ká kwɔ̀ɔ̀ yí e yíŋ́ó, ka e kɔ́ɔ́ ní ŋ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ ŋ̀ɔ́ ŋ̀ɔ́ ŋ

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*539 *ŋyɔ̀ɔ̀. Ko ríɲ́ é wɛ́rò, ka nɔ̀k lɛ̀l gí gɛ̀r, ka ɟɔ̀k chɔ̀l go ŋyɔ̄r nɔ́ɔ́ŋɛ, kí jì gá ŋyɔ̄rŋ; ríɲ́ lɛ̀ɲk; a dwɔ̀k chwɔ̀k, a chɔ̄r chɔ̀l kí ɟɔ̀k, kí jì, a kɔ̀bí ríɲ́ kíɲɛ: wɛ́ɛ́ lɛ̀ɲ́ɛ́, tɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ gì lɛ̀r.*

●193 *539 The eldest son of a king whose name was Alɔki, was brought to be elected king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound dura for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) one prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

He came home again, and built himself a village, which he called Pwot ("beaten"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out [693 301] of elephant-tusks.[1] When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten men; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and men as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him alone, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

*539 *Jɔ́l nɔ̀ɲ́ɛ́ Ákɔ́tɛ́ɔ́ Bɔ́kɔ́, ka é líɲɛ, chɛmɛ ríɲ́, é chɔ̀ɲ́ɔ̀, ka Chɔ̀lɔ́ yɔ́ɔ́, nɔ́ɔ́ɛ ɛ́ɛ ka lɛ̀ɲ́ɔ́ ríɲ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɛ; wɛ́ɛ́ yɔ́ɔ́ kí gɛ. Ko jɔ́l nɔ̀ɲ́ɛ́ kyɔ̀ɲ́ɔ́: ɛ́, fɔ́ɔ́ɛ ríɲ́! A ríɲ́ ɓáŋ? A chɔ̀ɲ́ɔ́ɔ́ɛ́, yɛ́ kɔ̀ɲ́ɔ́t! Ko jɔ́l gɛ́ɛ́ é líɲɛ, ka pɛ̀ɲɛ́ tɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ yɛ́, kí lɛ́ɲɛ́ gɔ́ɲɛ. Ká yɔ́ lɛ́ɲɛ́, ka Ákɔ́tɛ́ɔ́ Bɔ́kɔ́ lɛ̀ɲɛ́, ka é bwɔ̀ŋɛ, ka é ŋɛ́. Ko jɔ́l gɛ́ɛ́ kɛ: yí ŋɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́? Mɔ́ yí kɔ́ɔ́ɛ yɛ́ɛ, chɛ yɛ́ɛ́ ríɲ́? yí chɔ̀ɲɛ́ ɔ́ŋ́ lɛ̀ɲɛ́? Ko ŋɛ́ŋ́ kɛ: ɔ́, wɛ́ chɛ́ɛ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́ yí ɟɛ̀ɲɛ́ nɛ́ɛ́? Ko Ákɔ́tɛ́ɔ́-Bɔ́kɔ́ é líɲɛ, ka ɟɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ fɔ́ɔ́n, ka yɛ́ yɛ́yí. Tɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ bɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ yɛ́ɛ. Gɔ́ɲ́ ɟɔ́ɛ́! Tɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ bɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ yɛ́ɛ. Ko ɟɛ́ɲ́ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ɛ: yɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́ŋ́! Ko wɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ yɛ́ɛ́ yɛ́ɛ́ ɲɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. Ká á ríɲ́ɔ́, ka Chɔ̀lɔ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɲɛ: ɔ́, fɔ́ɔ́ɛ ríɲ́! Ko Chɔ̀lɔ́ kɛ: nɔ̀k! Ko ɟɛ́ɛ́ yíɲɛ, é pɛ́ɛ.*

173 *539 A man whose name was Akɔtɛyɔ Bɔkɔ, came and wanted to become king. He was a short man. The Shilluks consented, "This man shall be king now, we are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, Akɔtɛyɔ Bɔkɔ came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

[1] Formerly only the king was authorized to wear ivory bracelets.

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akunyo Bako came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remaind silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said. "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing.

45. Queen Abudok.

Kɛt Dɔkɛt ka fɛt ɛ lɛdɛ ɛ bɛ rij; ka Chɔlɛ wijɛ mɛm; rij boggɛ. Ka tɛrɛ lɛrɛ yi Abɛddɛk, ka ɛ ko: ɛ wijɛ wɛn a mum yi bɛdɛ rij. A lɛdɛ kiɛɛ: kudɛi rij! A kudɛi, a rɛdɛl. A kɛdɛ, gɛ Abɛddɛk, a dwai ɓɛɛ, a mɛjil, a wɛdɛl, a pɛgi yɛɛ ɛp: ka a ɓɛɛ dugɛ, a pɛgi, ka ɛdɛr ɛ chɛgɛ, ɛ ka yɛɛ. A kɛl ɛɛm ɓɛ, a pɛgi, a pɛdɛ; a kɛɛ Barkidɛ, a wei gɛ fɛɛ. A lɛdɛ kiɛɛ: ɛ, Chɔlɛ ɛ nɛdɛ yi kwo rij. A lɛdɛ ɛdɛɛ kwo rij. A lɛdɛ: ɛ, kwo rij ɛ lɛgi nɛgɛ, ka ei gɛdɛ lɛ lɛdɛ pɛrɛ, flɛr ei dɛyi dɛyi, ka ɛ ɛyɛg. U dɛt lat kɛɛ, ɛ dɛt pɛl. A lɛdɛ ɛuglɛ a ɛdɛɛ. — Kwɛt Abɛddɛk.

In the time of Dɔkɛt the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elected. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. She said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be decreased by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many. She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks), if they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become *many*, just as the branches of the calabash plant become *many* in the bush." Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the *story* of Abudok.

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (*educated*), saying, "Take this one for *your* king." Abudok went away

[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.
[2] loosen a rope to thrash him!

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angrily, she collected certain seeds, dried and pounded them, and brought them to Fashoda as a symbol, to show the Shilluks how they would be surpassed in number and in power by the descendants of the royal family.* This story again shows that the royal family is not originally Shilluk, but of foreign origin. — But perhaps it was simply because she was a woman that the Shilluks did not want her to rule them. In the list of kings given by Banholzer Abodok is omitted.]

VI. WAR STORIES.

46. War.

Ka wǫ wɛ̄lǫ, ka wǫ nɛ́nɛ́ kí yɔ̄, ka jɛ̄ dwɔgǫ, ka wǫ waníǫ yɔ̄, ka wǫ yɔ̄tì jal mɛ̄kǫ, ga lyan, lyawe leá, ka e ko: wu kɛ̄la kɛ́á? Wǫ kɛ̄la fɔ̄ɛ̄ bwoń. Kíne: wun a ya kɛ́á? Kíne: wa yá Penidwai. Kíne: fān dáè? Wǫ ya pache Chɛ́n. Kíne: yi Agɛ̄dǫ? Kíne: ànɔ́! Kíne: dɛ̄ch! A kɛ̄l wɛ́n, a chíp wǫn pach mɛ̄kǫ, Duwɛ̄t, a kɛ̄l wɛ́n Agɛ̄dǫ, a yɔ̄t jāgǫ, a núte yi wǫn kí dyɛ̄l, a lwɔ̀k wɛ́n, a nɛ́nà kí Bukyɛ́á, a bɛ̄na ɖɛ́kí, ka wǫ waapǫ kí bɛ̄rɔ̀, a núte yá kí dyɛ̄l; a bɛ̄t ɖɛ̄di yau.

A kewu lɛ́á, a kɛ̄t ɛ̄rɛ̄ǫ, a kɛ̄te leá kí Aɓūpǫ, a nɛ̄k Chɔ́lɛ̄ yi bwoń, a chyɛ̄te ɖɛ̄rɛ̄ǫ, a wiɪ̄i bwoá Tūńǫ. Ka Gɛ́kwaach, jāgǫ é yɔ̀mɔ̀. Ka chíp feá yì bwòń, kíne: dɛ́ch yàu, wa fa wāt. A duɛ̄k bwoá, a tɛ̄ńa kí bɛ̄le Ńelwāk, tɛ̄ńa múchɔ̀, a butí kí muchɔ̀, a nɛ̄gá, ka chyɛ̄t nam, ɛ ɡír.

A bɛ́nɛ́, a pɛ̄kɛ́ Óbáń, a bɛ̄dì yau, ka nɛ̄ke dwat adɛ̄k, a kɛ̄te, a lābé Tūńǫ, a nɛ̄gá gɔ̀n, a mágɛ́ gɔ̀n, a dwɔ́gɛ́, a tɛ̄ńɛ̄ Tārɛ̄, a māgɛ̄ Tārɛ̄, a bɛ́nɛ́, a tɛ̄ń Kɔ̄-Bɔ̀lɛ̄ɛ̄, a mágɛ́ jū, a gíti Wū, a māgí Wū, a gíti Ńɛ̄k, a mágí Ńɛ̄k, a dwɔgí Ńɛ̄k, a pɛ̄kí Wiśaleal.

A dɛ̄gó fɔ̄ɛ̄ Jon, a jɔ̄ɛ́l, a dwɔ́gɛ́, a pɛ̄kɛ̄ wiy Pich, a tɛ̄ńɛ́ pach, a pɛ̄ka Tedigǫ, a yɛ̄mɛ́ Dɛ̄ɛ́m, a gwajɛ̄ kí ɖɛ̄k, kí jɛ̄. A kɛ̄ɖɛ̄, a dɛ̄gí Paɖeań; a ɛ̄ɓé Diińjɛ̄l, ka Diińjɛ̄l é yɛ̄mɔ̀. A nɛ̄gɛ gɛn, a mágɛ úwɛ̄le gɛn, a kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. A māgɛ Muɛ̄mɛ̄, a dɛ́ń pɛ̄ɛ̄ Chɛ̄l, é ūgɛ̄ yi rɛ̄jɛ̄ (rɛ̄jɛ̄), dyɛ̄l bogɛn, ɖeań bogɛn, giɛ̄ne bogɛn, lyɛ̄l bogin, pyɛn bogɛn, kwot bogɛn, wɛt (yɛt) bogɛn, lwak bogɛn; peá é dɛ̄ńà, é úbɛ̄ɛ̄ yí rāji.

A ryá riɪ̄, riɪ̄ Akɛ̄l, a kɛ̄te leá, leá Gɛ́r, ka Lɛ̄ɛ̄k chɛ̄te. A bɛ̄n bwoáǫ, Alańɛ̄ārɛ̄, a ɛ̄ābe riɪ̄, a mágɛ́ gɔ̀n, a kíte jū Bɛ̄l, a chāge kín àn, a dɛ̄ńá riɪ̄te Kū, é jāgɔ̀, a bɛ̄n Lír, ka gyɛ̄ne kɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ́, ka ɖeań kɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ́, ka dyɛ̄l kɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ́. A jāge riɪ̄ Kū kí jaáe dɛ̄ch; ka ɖɛ̄k ɛ ńɛ̄ɛ́ǫ, ka gyɛ̄ne úɛ̄ɛ́ǫ, ka dyɛ̄le úɛ̄ɛ́ǫ.

A líńe kwɛ̄p yí bwoá mɛ̄kǫ, a bɛ̄nǫ, yíga bwoá máɛ̄k, yé lɛ̄nɛ̀, yé kɛ̄tɛ̀ kí Alańɛ̄ār, ka Chɛ̄lɛ̄ úɛ̄tɛ̀; kíne: túńɛ̄ dáè? yíga Ţúrùk, gɛ kí Nɛ̄ɛ̄lɛ̄ɛ̄,[1] ye Alańɛ̄ārɛ̄ nɛ́lè nɛ̄gɔ̀.

Yīk bwoá mɛ̄kǫ kɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ́ wak, yíga Bàkádí;[2] ka Baladi bɛ̄nǫ, ka ɛ̄ńa gɛt kí Ţóbɛ̄t; a ɛ̄ɓé gɛt, ka Chɛ̄l rɛ́ńa pach.

Ka ɛ̄rɛ̄ dwɛ̄gǫ, ka kwɛ̄p líń: Alańɛ̄ārɛ̄ nɛ̄gɔ̀! Ká bāl gɛ̄ɛ̄k, ka Chɛ̄lɛ̄ chɛ́ńɛ̄ bāl; chaáe mɛ́ńǫ. A bɛ̄n Turuk, a ɛ̄ɓka fat.

We were travelling, we slept on the road, and when the people (whom we had sent to look for the way) came back, we (found out that we) had lost our way. We found a man, a spy, a war-spy. He asked, "Where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the country of the Shilluk people." He asked, "From which district (of the Shilluk-country) are you?" We replied, "From Penyidwai." He (asked), "From which village?" We (replied), "From

[1] that is, English. [2] The Akyumbdana.

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the village Chen." He said, "Do you belong to Agōdo? We replied, "Yes, we do." He said, "All right." He took us and brought us to some other village, Duwat, then he brought us to Agōdo. He found out the chief, who (received us and) killed a goat for us, and then he accompanied us. We slept at Bukyeny. When the next day came, and it had become afternoon, he killed again a goat for me; the people (my companions and I) sat down.

A war signal was given. The people went, and there was a fight at Atkno. Shilluks were killed by the strangers, the Shilluks were chased throughout the country till the strangers came to Tonga. And the chief Gokwach surrendered; he was left alive by the strangers, they said, "All right, we are friends." The strangers turned back, and marched straight towards Nyelwāk. There they turned on an island (in the Nile), and while they were sleeping there, many of them were killed by the Shilluks, and many too were chased into the river, a great number.

After that they came and sat down at Obang; they remained quiet there for three months, then they went and attacked Tonga (again), some of the people they killed, and some they caught as slaves; they returned and marched towards Tāro; they captured Tāro and came marching towards Khor Filus, they caught people there; they came to Wā, they captured Wā, they arrived at Ngok and captured it; from Ngok they returned and sat down at Winyalwal.

They returned to the Dinka country, but there they had no success, and so went back, and sat down at the mouth of the river Pich. They turned to the next village, and then went (across the river) to Tedigo. The chief Detim surrendered, he paid tribute in cattle and men. From there the enemy turned back to Padeang. He cheated (the Dinka chief) Dingjel, and Dingjol surrendered. He was killed, together with his children. The enemies went away and captured Mwomo. While they remained in the Shilluk country, the country suffered very much, there were no goats left, no cattle, no fowls, no dura, no clothes, no shields, no drums, no houses, no cow houses; the land was ruined to exhaustion.

In that time a king was elected, king Akol, he fought a war, the war of Ger, and the people of Lwak (with their king Akol) were chased. Then came the strangers, the Ansars,[1] they outwitted the king and caught him. They arrived at Bel, and remained there. The (Shilluk-) king Ka[2] continued reigning during this time. And the *Lir*-people[3] came and brought fowls, and cattle, and goats. The *king Ka*[2] *reigned* well, so that the cows, and fowl, and goats became many.

About that time the fame of some other white people was heard of; they were coming, they were very strong white people, they came and fought the Ansars; when the Shilluks heard that, they laughed;[4] and it was asked, "What is their name?" And they turned out to be the Turks and the English. It was said, "The Ansars will surely be killed now."

[1] the people the Dervishes.
[2] — Kur.
[3] The Kordofan Nubas from Jebel Ellel.
[4] for joy.

And again there came white people, from the interior, they were Abyssinians. The Abyssinians came, and marched towards the river, the Sobat; the Shilluks ran away to their villages. 173 539*

And the people returned to their villages, because there was a rumour, "The Ansars have been killed." Then the drum was beaten, the Shilluks danced to the drum, they rejoiced. The Turks came and remained in the country.

47. Tribal War.

Kal akyɛl e lɛno bia pɛl, ka kal akyɛl e lɛnɛ, ka lɛɛ lɛtì. Ka dɛ̀n e lɛ̀l, ka 539*
dɛ̀n tí fɛ̀dɛ̀, ka dɛ̀n mɛkɛ tí chìki lɛtì, lɛr (bɛdɛ) jì gɛ gir, ka lɛɛ rɛnɛ, ka jì
nɛ̀k akyɛ, dɛ̀n chɔp. Lɛɛ dɛ̀pi, tyɛ́ a mɛn bia bɛ tɛrɛ dɛ̀n, ka gɛ tɛrɛ pach. Bu
dɛ̀n ma lɛtɛ ma tí bɛdɛ mɛk kí wɛr. Jì tí bia bɛ llìɔ kí wɛr. Jì tí lɛ̀cha wɛt kí
yey lwɛl.

One family comes and goes out into the bush, and another family comes, and they begin fighting. And a man is speared, and falls down; again another man is speared, (so they go on till on both sides the dead are) many. At last one army runs away: many people are killed, they are speared. Now the warriors scatter. The women come to carry the dead home. No one is left out in the bush during night-time. 539* 628

(After a war) the people come to lie in wait during the night.[1] — The people are accustomed to urinate in the house, in a gourd.[2] [514]

48. The War of Nyeker.

Jal mɛ̀ɲɛ chwɛ̀lá Ńɛkɛ̀r, wɛdɛ Dɛr, ɛ̀k, ɛ̀k, ka e kɛdɛ, ka tɛ́ɛ́a Tɛ́ɛ́gɛrɛ lɛ mɛ̀ɲɛ. 539*
Ka Tɛ́ɛ́gɛrɛ nɛ̀gɛ́, ka gɛ mɛ̀gɛ́. Ka ɛ̀ɲɛ yí Yɛdìt, ka e lìɛ́ɛ́ kí lɛɛ, ka mɛ́ɛ́a Dìŋjɛl,
ka lɛɛ chɛ̀gɛ́ yí Dìŋjɛl; ka lɛɛ gɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ nɛm, ka lɛɛ nɛ̀k; ka bia pɛch, ka e ɣɛɛ.

Some man whose name was Nyeker, the son of Der, was very, very brave. He went and turned towards Tengere (in the Dinka country) to capture. He destroyed Tengere and seized it (its people and cattle). And he was imitated by Yedit, he too raised an army and marched against Dingjel, but his army was chased by Dingjel, he drove the army into the river, so that they died. *Yedit went home and cooperated when the dust arose.* 173 539*

49. The War of Deng.

Jal mɛ̀ɲɛ chwɛlɛ Dɛ́ŋ, ka fìrɛ́ é lɛtɛ́ kí Dɛwɛ̀t; fa Yɛdìdì. Ka lìɛ́ tìé, tìé 539*
Yɛ́t, ka lɛɛ e lɛtɛ, ka jì nɛ̀k gɛ ɣɛ́ɛ́rɛ. Ka Ójàɛ́ dwɛ̀, ka e tɛ́ɛ́, ka e ka: lìɛ́ ●
tí lɛtɛ mwɛ̀l, kí mwɛ̀l chɛ̀. Ka e mɛ̀ɲɛ, ka e bwɛ̀ kí yɛ́, ka jì kɛ̀ nɛ̀k, ka lɛmɛ

[1] This is blood revenge; if one tribe has more dead than the other, it tries to kill some people of the hostile village.
[2] for fear of being killed when going out.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 *gén pâr, ka gɛ nɛk, ka leí kɛ̀a pack, ka e lɛ̀tɛ, ka jî nɛk ga pyūr aíwɛn. Ka Dɛ́i kwachɛ, kwachɛ leí, ka tyɛk e lɛ̀nɛ, ka lɛgɛ bâá gìn, ka fān gwí e chyíŋ. Ka tyɛk chɛ̀tɛ, ka gɛ nấgí: a kɛ́ɲɲ́, a ŋ̀ɲa wɛk, fōjɛ rítɛ Jaí.*

●173 *539 There was a certain man with the name of Deng, his village fought with Duwat; the name of the village was Yweldit. The war began, it began at the village Yonj, the army fought, and ten men were killed. Then a Dinka man (a sorcerer) was brought, he made a charm, saying, "The war must be fought in the morning, early in the morning." So Deng arose early in the morning, and laid an ambush on the way; and when the people (the enemies) came out, he attacked them and killed (many of) them. The army of the enemy went back into the village, and when they came again, they killed fourteen men of Deng's. Then Deng begged, he begged for auxiliary troops; and an auxiliary army came. With them he went after the enemy, and the village (of Duwat) stopped fighting.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

IX. STORIES ABOUT SORCERERS.

67. The Cruel King.

Ka ríɟ wɔ̀ɲɟ Ŋwɔ-Bàbɔ̀, ka e jɔ̀gɔ, kɛ̀ɲè, e wɔ̀gɛ́ jì, ɛ̀ɛn a ɟɛ̀cɔ̀ŋ kí gì wɔ̀gí. Ka e ko: gɛ̀r wɛ̀t! Ka ɣɛ́ (wɛ́t) gɛ̀r. Ka ɣɛ́ ɟɔ̀ɔ̀t wɛ̀l, ka ríɟ e kɛ̀ɲɛ wɛ́t kí ɛ̀ɛn a ɟɛ̀cɔ̀ŋ mɔ́jìɛr. Ka ríɟ gwí ko: tɛ̀k ɟɔ̀ wɛ́t! Ka Chɔ̀l̀ bòc̀. Ka wí wɛ̀ɲɟ: Chɔ̀l a bòc̀! Ka e ɟɔ̀.

Ka ríɟ wɔ̀ɲɟ rɔ́é, chɛ̀ɲɔ̀a Ŋɔ̀ɟɔ̀, kɛ̀ɲè. Ka jɔ̀k dɛ̀wɛ́; ka e fɔ̀ɲɔ̀ŋ kíɛ́ɛ: ɛ́ɛ (rɔ́é) ɛ̀ɛn á wɔ̀gí? Jɔ̀gɔ ko: ɔ̀, kɛ́ɛ̀k wɛ́ɛn! Ka jɔ̀k wɔ̀gí.

A certain king called Ngwo-Babo, reigned; he was very, very cruel; he killed people, even women he killed. One day he said, "Build a house!" And a house was built. When the door of the house was plastered (when it was finished), he went into it together with a young girl. (Then the door was walled up).[1] The king said, "Open the door!" But the Shilluks refused. The king began to sing, but the Shilluks refused; so he died.

And another king was elected, whose name was Nyato, he was very cruel. He caused all the chiefs to come, and asked them, "Why did you kill my cousin?" They replied, "Ah, we do not know." He killed all the chiefs.

68. King Nyadwai trying the Sorcerers.

Ríɟ Ŋɔ̀dwɛ̀, e jɔ̀gí: a kɛ́ɛ̀ɲí fɛ́t, a kɔ̀ɲ̀ yɛ́ɛ fɛ́t, a kɔ̀ɲ̀ ɔ́ɟɛ̀r, a ɟɔ̀ɲ̀. A chɛ́ɛ̀ɲ̀ ɔ́jwɔ̀ɲɟ, ɔ́jwɔ̀ɲɟ kɛ̀ɲɛ, a ɟɛ̀ɛ̀ɲ̀ gíɛ, kíɛ́ɛ: wɛ́ɛ jɔ̀k, yí ɟɔ̀ɔ̀ yí gíɛ́ɛ wɔ̀ (rɔ́) fɔ́t. Ka ɔ́jwɔ̀ɲɟ wɔ̀ɲɟ wí kɛ̀ɲɛ, ka wí ɲɔ̀ɲ̀, ka wí ko: gwɛ́ɛ́d pɛ́ɛ̀k. Ŋɔ̀dwɛ̀ ko: yɛ̀ɛ́ pɛ́ɛ! Ka wɛ́ɛ wí kɛ̀ɲɛ, ka wí ɲɔ̀ɲ̀, ka wí ko: gwɛ́ɛ́d pɛ́ɛ̀k. A kɛ̀ɲɛ jɛ̀l Ajwɔ̀ɲɟ, a kɛ̀ɲɛ jɛ̀l Aɟɔ̀ɲɟí, ko ríɟ ko: à! A kɛ̀ɲɛ jɛ̀l Ŋɔ̀ɔ̀dwɔ̀, a kɔ̀ɲ̀ kíɛ́ɛ: ɛ̀, kɛ̀l pí! Ka pí kɛ̀l; ka e ɲɔ̀ɲɟ. Ŋɔ̀pí chɔ̀ɲ̀ kí pí, ka kɔ̀ɲ̀ kwɛ́ɛ́d, kɛ́ɛ̀ à ɛ̀ɛ́mɛ̀. Ŋɔ̀dwɛ̀ ko: wɔ̀ɲɟí ɔ́jwɔ̀ɲɟ! Ka ɟɛ́ wɔ̀ɲɟ.

Then Nyadwai was elected, and he reigned. One day he had a hole dug into the ground,[1] the ordeal which was to be put into it, and to set it on fire (and to cover the whole with earth). Then he ordered beans to be brought and to be cooked. He assembled all the witch doctors, and asked them, "You children of chiefs, I do not know what this humming in the earth is?" (meaning the noise caused by the boiling of the beans). One of the witch doctors came, he listened and then said, "That is something bewitching (or cursing) the village." Nyadwai replied, "Sit down there!" Another came listening; he too said, "It is something bewitching the village." Then came the man (the doctor) of Ajwago, after him

[1] In this way the Shilluk kings are trusted. The king wanted to try his people, whether they were faithful to him.

there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained there. There is often a *gau*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

The Settlement (pouth)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recognised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *seuh*. It is said that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, originally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *seuh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *seuh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *seuh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

The chief of the settlement, the *rago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

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The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dwong pur* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated.

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1)

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult.

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans.

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth.

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*.

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also *the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - always stand apart.* The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Frazer kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime.

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

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there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuige*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *Juok*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

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Differences and divisions between the Shilluk and other Nilotic peoples are attributed to differences between Nyikang and others who are thought to have been once closely associated with him. Differences between the Shilluk and people whose culture and system of thought are quite unlike their own are attributed to an ubiquitous God, *Juok*. Leaving aside for the moment the Shilluk classification of people within their own kingdom, I mention briefly some of the stories referring to the relationship between the Shilluk and some other Nilotes, and between the Shilluk and foreign invaders.

According to one Shilluk tradition,[1] in the original migration from their first homeland, 'the land of Duwat', the Shilluk were with their leader Nyikang, and with them were the Dinka led by Dengdit, the Anuak led by Gilo, and the Luo led by Odimo. There are various versions of this story, and the presence of Odimo in it is inconsistent with other stories about him. The kin relationship supposed to exist between the leaders also varies from one account to another. In this version, the Anuak first broke away, and then the Dinka, and finally, when the Shilluk were on the fringes of the country they now occupy, the Luo turned away towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The story shows some idea of successive developments in a necessary chronological order, and the stories of the relationship of the Shilluk with the Luo contain circumstantial details, some of which are confirmed in independent accounts given by the Luo themselves.[2] These are people who are thought to have been involved in Shilluk history from very early times; we are not given any indication that the Shilluk attempt to account for their existence, but only that they themselves account for their relationship with the Shilluk. It is not so with the stories about white and brown people. One tells, for example, how it was that God (*Juok*) came to help the *turuk*, the Turk or European,[3] rather than others of his sons, the people of Darfur, the Abyssinians, and the Shilluk, who were afraid or refused to approach him.[4] Another version, found also among other Nilotic peoples, attributes the success of the light-skinned people both to superior guile on their part, and to some preference shown them by God. We are also told that when God began to make men, he made them from light-coloured clay, until his hands became dirty towards the end of his task, and he then made the Shilluk, who lost their equality with the light-skinned people.[5] Like other Nilotes, the Shilluk seem to have singled out writing and guns as the gifts with which God gave supremacy to the foreigners,[6] and Shilluk songs recorded by *Hofmayr*[7] suggest that circumcision has come to stand for much that is contemptible in foreign custom and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 70.

[2] J. P. Crazzolara, 1950, has tried to build up the traditions of the Luo (Lwoo)-speaking peoples into a connected history.

[3] Though Turks, Arabs, and Europeans can be variably distinguished from each other in Shilluk, Europeans, particularly when they are officials, are often called *turuk*.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 240. [5] Bell, p. 107.

[6] Westermann, 1912. [7] 1925, pp. 360 ff.

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behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed together as *olwenyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *olwenyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Hunter, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 148, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *yo pany*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *ral*.

[2] Hunter, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 5, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo ral*.

[3] See note 1.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opuuse*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwot, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1923, p. 399.

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originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai)'.[7]

Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from this original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.
[3] Westermann, 1912, p. 153.
[4] Hofmayr, 1913, p. 159.
[5] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.
[6] Oyler, 1918 (i).
[7] Ibid., pp. 153 ff., et al.
[8] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.

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emblems.[1] The story shows that, from the earliest times, the Shilluk suppose the kingship to have been a source of rivalry between the sons of the previous king. Nyikang is not thought to have been the elder of the brothers, and there is no account of any superior claim on his part, except that he also had a following. There is no emphasis in the myth on any customary order of succession, and so today any son of a king who has once been installed is theoretically eligible to become king if he can press his claim. In the past, at least, a man could retain the kingship only if he was able to defend himself against rival claimants. Rivalry over who shall be king is intrinsic to the Shilluk type of kingship, and may perhaps be seen as the most extreme form of the separation of the person from the office consistent with hereditary right to succession.

In the course of their wanderings, Nyikang and his followers came to a country occupied by Dimo,[2] where they lived for a while, and Nyikang married Dimo's daughter. She bore children, of whom the most important was his son Dak. Dak then quarrelled with Dimo, whose people wanted to kill him. Nyikang made an effigy of Dak, which was speared in Dak's place by the followers of Dimo. Effigies of Nyikang, Dak, and another son of Nyikang called Cal, are now used, as will be described, in the ceremonies for the installation of the Shilluk king. This is the first mention of an effigy, which was thus an idea of Nyikang. In one story Dak is a mischievous and quarrelsome figure, who grew to a tremendous size. He is also very intelligent, and there are accounts of how he and Nyikang, in contest with Dimo, were able to blind Dimo's people and his cattle, thus forcing Dimo to give up the fire, which he had hidden, and to release the rain, which he had stopped. The significance of this power of Nyikang and Dak to cause blindness will later be suggested. Here we remark that the effigy of Dak, used in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is now a long figure made from bamboos and surmounted with black ostrich feathers, and that Dak is still a symbol of the warlike qualities of the Shilluk king. He is the fighter while Nyikang is the leader. The third son, Cal, who is also represented in effigy in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is made not of sandwich, like Nyikang, nor of bamboo, like Dak, but of rope, and the feathers which form his head are the grey feathers of the female ostrich.[3] He plays a less important part than Dak or Nyikang in the ceremonies. We are told that Cal was a coward, and therefore Nyikang thought it safe for him to remain with him and Dak, while he sent away another of his sons, Bura, because he was as headstrong as Dak.[4] It is said that Cal succeeded his father as king, but did not reign for long and disappeared, to be succeeded by his brother

[1] Hadenyo, p. 14. The emblems then were a skin for slinging across the shoulder of the king, and a bow of some kind. Other emblems were later acquired. The story shows how Shilluk ideas of kingship are bound up with the possession of distinguishing emblems by the king.

[2] Who is sometimes said to be a brother of Nyikang. The relationship varies with the context of the telling of the story.

[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 68.

[4] Oyler, 1918 (ii.

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Duk. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Col, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the aggressive, headstrong Duk supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Col. In songs Duk is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Duk's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It may be noted that Duk, in quarrelling with his mother's people and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Duk against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further migration of Nyikang, Duk, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *sudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before crossing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the hand of the Sun, and Duk set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Tungura*, *Tungura*, or *Ajimdjora*, and other details of the story are said to resemble those of the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The elements here given follow Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 139–62.

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ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix–xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 179.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 13.

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which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 154; Oyler, 1928, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1928 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, 12.

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Lusk in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sons'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Lusk and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river, the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the ceremonies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

Ger and Lusk each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Muomo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 72. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 266.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very confused. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kor, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

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cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 's remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

Nyikang and Dak were the most important Shilluk kings and may be regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to kill Dak, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Dak's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Dak is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Dak was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Dak show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Dak particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (ii, p. 108. In this account, it is said that Dak made the effigy, though in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 139, Nyikang made the effigy.

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mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or deposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 81. [2] 1912, p. 188.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortunes for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

The cranial differences may be fully accounted and explained by Bellah mythology. Rybang, the dodgod and the Bellah culture hero, came, with his followers, to the southern part of present Bellahland and erected his headquarters at Rylindi, in Bwayang district, but he proceeded northward to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, he found the lands on either side of the Rjin already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Baka and Bong, or according to one authority (3) Sangalanga or Bakaboro. It seems to be that the Bongs were not really the inhabitants of the land, but were reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Rjin, at any rate, Rybang conquered the present Bellahland in a powerful war expedition, and by means of force or by these instances destroyed or drove out the people. The people either fled to the Rjin mountains and forests, or stayed in the land, these who stayed were not enslaved to slaves, but were accepted as Bellah citizens and thus incorporated into the Bellah nation.

How the high orgnathic index in the north may be attributed to a Baka influence, more specifically to an eastern Baka influence, or to a westorgnathic influence from the Jur Beng Bilin.

There is an other country area of mesorthognathic that the eastern Baka Bilin. The most eastern area of mesorthognathic is the Jur Beng mountains which lie within a range of between 200 to 300 kilometers northeast of the Bellah land across the Rjin. Here first are some orthognathic exceptions from both mesorthognathic areas:

Baka Bilin (40)	0.2.	0.2.	0.2.	0.0.2.	0.2 cm2
Fagin (3)	3	87	85.3	88.3	
Ogoy o Lufwi (30)	86.82	90.26	88.26	86.49	72.88
Lyam (4)	86.88	87.43			
Mixed Baka, Jur Beng					
Kbaum (3)	77.3	90.77	82.42	85.72	80.8
Baka mean (14)	86.55	84.83	83.48	86.23	73.2
Ogoy (40)	85.9	94.4			
Jur Beng Bilin (14)					
Beng (3)	71.8	87.3	84.8	86.3	78
Jagoneng (40)	83.1	87.4	88.8	84.7	73
Kbaum (3)	83.4	86.3	88.1	83.8	
Kbak (3)	83.4	91.6	77.9	85.3	67
Kpaum (30)	84.8	84.3	85.1	88.4	73
Jur Jur (3)	86.3				
Mixed (43)	86.1	86.8	86.8	83.8	78

Hypothetically or not may that there has once in the past formed a mesorthognathic belt, was separated through the migration of the mesorthognathic Baka of the Baka Bilin, on the eastern bank, and the Bellah and Buggere people on the western bank of the Rjin.

Baka women, unlike Yassalimas, do not form ovoid outlines, but are more or less fully erect. They are rarely emphasized/slim of different physical and cultural types which have first come to the notice of any observer. But the most important feature, this I mentioned then I can personally, but from our scientific standpoint is their mesorthognathic character.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office-find in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are closely of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Atholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jalou,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, 'The Lango', Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1930; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of recruits, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the Mahdia.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1931) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fadiet when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Beggara Khawr: Lebl, whereby several tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kwi's time (deposed 1903) too.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *nel dhom*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya nel dhom*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or unreasonably, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*o wum*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman [illegible] unmarried, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried, a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, where homicide is a joint action, the slayer must cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services,

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 139-52. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *nyo ur ador* (pronounced as *aw*) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between seventy and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kuar mut* takes the *yang kwaar* in return for his services (cattle are in the negotiations for peace, the *reath nuer*/'bull cult of blood') and *yang kwaar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two cows which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Northern Dinka-land these cattle

[2] To begin with, we just want a quick remind of the historical background, implied, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Nyag?

A) The SHILLUK :

[3] The Shilluk are are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kako to Tonga - a distance of about 800 km, and extends inland from the river to about 80 to 90 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

[4] The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate [5] that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 6) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 8) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shilluk land and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

[14] This composed heterogeneity has its backing in the [15] Shilluk traditions. The national hero, ruler-God, and first king [73] of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was directed into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of conquerors was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyikang incorporated part of these aboriginals to his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the eastern area that provided refuge, and this must have been the ancestry Koko Mountains, to the east of the present Shilluk country. It is generally reported that after each re-start -the coming of a new ruler, violating power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the new-comers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generations. 11) Descendants after the fourth generations are also respected.

[16] The racial differences between north and south within the [17] Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

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6) Seligman, p.10, and p. 38. Also Ibid., pp. 71-72

8) Ibid., pp. 71-72

10) Ibid., pp. 71-72

11) Seligman, p. 48.

of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the start of electing a new king.

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang come, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when?

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of mature stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Dak, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamito-negro's admixture if they are not pure Hamite. (42) It follows then that any effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamite homeland among the present Nilotic nations, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamite homes, again around this Nilotic nations.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race admixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory:

a) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to get his divine (sic) effort by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in those parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and as a sign of authority". (43)

b) The original home of Nyikang represented a sedentary cultural type, because agriculture was well known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, whom he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement.

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(42) It may be also an Arab-negro mixture, however at that time the Arabs were already on the Sudan or Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Ashanjol Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

(43) Arkell, (A), p. 307.

10: Kind E-4.5 (1958) 1959 F213 Shilluk F213

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complicated core of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this succession law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a BAR ZEUS, which means a great river or a lake. [175]

Schweyr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 15, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 16) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to us by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been formed during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling race may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukized" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kwr, in 1951, 17) is an unimportant proof of the existence of such a notion. Where such an idea is so strongly adhered to exists now -no matter if they are Muslims or Christian Shilluk sometimes- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still exist in man's mind, and will be readily executed if there were true chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

(16) Schweyr, p. 77

(17) Seligman, p. 183, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practised by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his dominion. [177]

(18) Howell, pp. 180-188. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [178]

(19) The government does not allow it any more.

10: Rind E-4.5 (1965) 1965 F233 Shilluk F233

631

c) The Capital:

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. [692]

The meaning of such a political organization is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Nile, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but these messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, Nyikang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Abwong where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Funj kingdom and the Arab state of Darfur were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, dominated the White Nile in their course. 174

How the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to exciting agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

"Le Bahr el Abiad (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, à divisé, suit par l'ouest, suit par le nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il forme autant de petites îles, aux charmes desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitants sont sans pâturage, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent & descendent (le fleuve) ... " [22]

[22] Brune, 448.

10:Nile E-4.3 (1954) 1965 F233 Shilluk F233

173 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which cross river forays are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many seeming expeditions downstream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may here taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and loot their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it seems to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the islands 32) south of 12 degrees latitude.

[174] We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or ephemeral, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for ever, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk adventure. Some of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their state northward. However, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being "from Akumo to Tung" 33), these being the present Shilluk borders. But it have more core, why was it not preserved in the traditions?

173 174

c) The Fung:

173 The Fung kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the main heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Kordofan 34), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lamel, 35) which some historians put on the present Dilebejian and Qeisroun border, between the rivers Tabassa and Khor el Gash, 37)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Sobe, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Fung Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Moya and moved north, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the sixth cataract, and together smashed Sobe. 38)

32) Westermann, p. 22.
34) Lienhardt, p. 291.
35) Beasley, p.48, outlines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northwestern part of the present Blatagia.
36) Crawford, pp. 156-160. A description of Bruhmol's journey and how he met Amara in Lamel. Arbell is (a) tried to reduce the name Lamel to Lel, a district in the present Shilluklend.
37) Beasley's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Cairo, 1954, p. 248.

I have proposed Jebel Aboul Agba as a site of the Pong garrison, because it is well protected by the mountain, and the other name now mentioned by Nachtigal in 1870, by Petherick in 1860 as Jebel Tafan, by the Baka (Ingessi) of the Bell, as Jebel Tafan, and by Baldner as Jebele Teifa and Fan, 88) Of interest to us is that Nafafaj means in Arabic The Bank of the Pong. It could imply the tenure of the Pong.

The other choice, the present Baldbai area as a site for a Pong garrison, is supported by the Shilluk tradition. Here, we seem to solid proof that the Pong and the Shilluk did contact each other. At the very beginning of the Shilluk history as told by their traditions, Nyikang, while consolidating his power in the Shilluk land by subduing the various segments of the original inhabitants, met with a force called Gal or Ja pung 89), which are both identical with the people of Denmar, or the Pong. The Shilluk tradition tells of a battle at Nun -a locality a little north of Baldbai- between the Pong and the Shilluk under Nyikang's leadership. Though the Shilluk were not victorious in this battle, the Pong seem to have retired to the north, perhaps to Jebel Aboul Agba.

This was the first Shilluk-Pong encounter; a hostile relationship! Afterwards, we hear of more relations, of wars and slave hunting, and even of a kind of alliance in warfare. The end result of such changing relationships was the existence of many Shilluk slaves and warriors among the inhabitants of the Denmar area, in addition to other slaves from the Baka Mountains, and other parts of the Bagrmi and Bagro Sultan.

Now, we may see that the Pong were expanding to the south always, and if they expanded to the Bar Pong area -which is a mountainous area- it would be easier for them to extend their rule up the White Nile route, which afforded no such geographical hindrances, and simultaneously afforded a bigger and richer radius of resources such as slaves, ivory, and other articles of trade, which were not only consumed in Denmar, but found other markets in Western Asia and Europe through Cairo. But as the upper White Nile route is more or less an area infested with swamps and other ecological conditions alien to the Arabs and to the Pong settlers, there were no evil devised barriers. It was merely a highway, and to a political mean a no-man's land.

6) The Cultural Aspects of Kingship

a) The meaning of kingship

Among the Shilluk, all writers agree that the notion of kingship is an undivided part of the Shilluk religion. Nyikang, though a mythical hero and possibly a real historical personality, is considered by the Shilluk to be still living to protect the land

88) Ashcroft, (a), p. 858.

89) Lienhardt, p. 166, see footnote No 1.

and Nile, and though he had explored the area of Lake Tana, he did not follow the river's course down the Sudan, but made a shortcut from Abyssinia to the Atbara plains and to Khartum. All his knowledge about the course of the Blue Nile out of Abyssinia is hearsay only, as well as his knowledge about the White Nile. Thus, Bruce perceived that the mountains of Fungdi extend uninterrupted to the Nuba mountains. On this assumption he concluded that the White Nile was a little tributary to the Nile Nile, and had its source in the Fungdi-Nuba chain of mountains. If he erred in geographical points, could it not be possible that he could accordingly err in the relative positions of the various tribes?

Johnston dwells on the statement of Bruce that the Funge kings were lawfully killed by a special officer called Dil el Jam, and after the creation of a special committee formed by the great officials of the kingdom. He tried to link this habit with the Shilluk divine kings, supporting ultimately the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Funj. Moreover, he depended much upon verbal similarities as proofs to his theory, such as Bruce, the Shilluk word for their sacred chief, to be transformed to Jam, to Dil el Jam, etc. We have shown clearly that any comparison between the Shilluk king-killing and the Jiokgod Dwai killing is false, due to the lack of the essential action of kings as incarnations of the first Shilluk king.

Crawford, though he does not support a Shilluk origin of the Funj, says that there were certain Shilluk connections, he further wishes "I suggest that the Shilluk connections may not extend directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Fungdi region and the galabs to the east whose inhabitants were partly of any rate of Shilluk origin. Thus when Amara Dunkas marched down the Blue Nile and founded the kingdom he may have carried with him some of these Shilluk connections ..."(a) Crawford then suggests that the Shilluk migrated to this area from the White Nile region starting from Kelek, or Aulil about Aghr, or Sennar. He is compelled to such an explanation because

i) he thinks that the inhabitants of the Fungdi region are "Negroid, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east, and to the southward to the land of the Eastern Galla". (b)

ii) that "evidence of place names (in both this area and the White Nile area) to have quite sometimes". (c)

It is quite clear that Crawford does not take into consideration that the whole of the Fungdi area as well as other areas to the north were, in the distant past, a Negro home, which shrank to the present picture of pockets in the river valleys which met Arab in the western emergence of the Abyssinian plateau.

(a) Crawford, p. 188

(b) Ibid., p. 187

(c) Ibid., p. 187.

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THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered.

There is a Shilluk consonant *ŋ* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ŋ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golkaŋ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golkeŋ* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with *Acholi*, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar.

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pulle Tharo*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal[1] and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Acietagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyilual where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyilwal and built his own village at Dedigo.[2] Since his son Dak made his village nearby at Fako it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuŏ*[3].

Exactly who these *Fuŏ* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Domuth[4] and driven over the river into the Malun country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Funj Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Fuŏ*

1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1590. Stubbings (the Shilluk) however thinks that Okato was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1800 - 1830.

2. In the settlement of Fanyidwel Pat.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Stool of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this stool *Nyaro* is still in the *Fuŏ* country.

4. A village some 15 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

17: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1938) 1941
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remnant, *Jorimo olang*[3]. These blacks in time also became *Collo* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Collo par excellence*, became known as *Kwar Reth*[4] in distinction from the remainder.

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Duk succeeded him as *Reth*. Duk was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fun* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Duein. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Duk at the site of the village of Tewrukit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[5]

The period from Duk's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Khoir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhkir (approximately 1830) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[6] took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth* Kwadhkir was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day.

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhkir who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhkir. Finally after Kwadhkir had for many years

3. This may be translated "black battalions."

4. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Gwon* means the descendants of Gwon and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

5. "*pato nenyo.*"

6. Ali Bey Rashi.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PUOK).

The word *puok* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than five adult males to others containing less than ten. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be disunited in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wadh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORDER.

Orore is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyikwk* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dertim in about 1850.
18. *e.g.*, Amenjook.
19. *Tiek wi Reth*.

who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Rath* served the *Rath*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Rth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Rath*.

The *Bang Rath*, whether *Bang Rath* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

Political Divisions and Organisation.

The Provinces of Luak and Ger and the Old Order.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Rath* and this has always been the case. Between the *Rath* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[16]. The bound-

16. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Rath* Dhakwith the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudhok who had previously ruled after the death of Bnoc and had resigned to make way for Dhakwith. Tugo had been living at Athokong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave his name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok thus came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdubok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golbah, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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sry between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbaß, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 117
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmán of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

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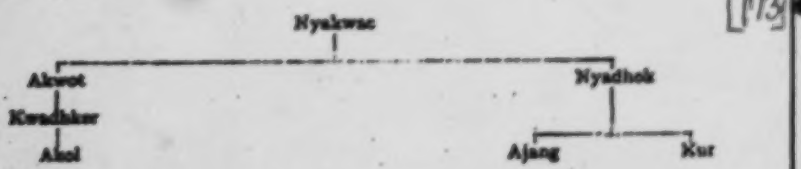
27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles:

[173]



17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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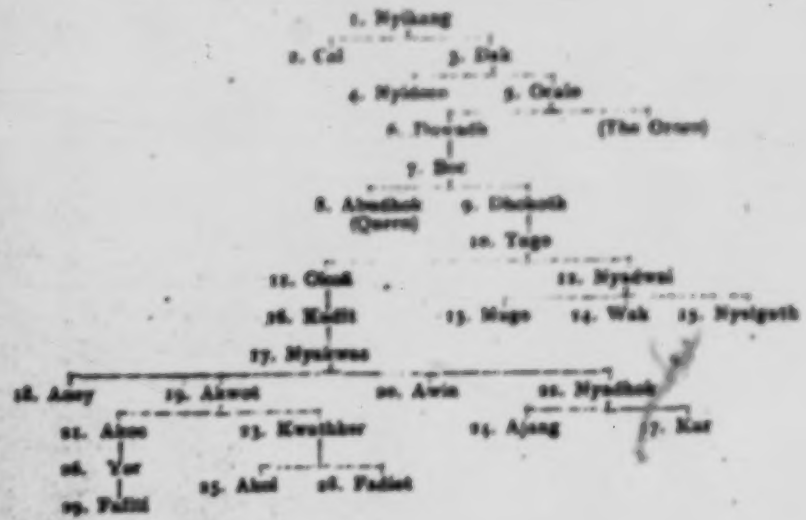
son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[30]. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)



30. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dumo* taboo.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies. 643

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *akwair* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth* Nyakwar[1] who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwanpiroth* Bul Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Division) is reputed to be descended from this union. 173

APPENDIX III.

Terms of Relationship.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:— 601

(1) Relationships with kinsmen.
(2) Other relationships.
(3) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(1) Relationship with Kinsmen.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Dang" means Dang's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) *Relations of the same generation:*

Uwi	*Uwia*	Every male kinsmen (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (*i.e.*, classificatory brother).
Nyiwi	*Nyiwia*	Same as *Uwi*, but femine, (*i.e.*, classificatory sister).
Umi	*Umia*	Uterine brother.
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Uterine sister.

1. This is kept highly secret.

[124] [613] 621 [773] 945] recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debale*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhok*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Amalish*[3] who holds the *Lee Dweng* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debale* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimel* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. [620] The *Lee Dweng* is not commonly inherited by an eldest son, or by a [628] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment [945] must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three [621] generations. *Debale* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate [36] lines of segmentation. From *Debale* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debale*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimel*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gükar* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gükar* sprang from *Debale*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwaro* the son to

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3. *Jago Amalish* is now dead.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P.P. Howell and W.P.G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 11° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopaddola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal. These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, state-

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

[p. 5]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1946) 1946
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that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is the village or *tuc*.[2]

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement"; *S.N.R.* XXIV, 1941.
3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.

For Notes see pp. 75 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1946) 1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a *follower of some* alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane *powers*.

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fuliti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the *29th reth* because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the *same* generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hofmayer and adopted by Seligman and Pumphrey. (*Vide* Appendix IV).

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk *reths* are these:

1. That only the son of a *reth* who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a *reth* is entitled *nyireth* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognized that a *nyireth* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the *reth*.

3. For this reason the *reth's* sons or sons of previous *reths* are always potentially in opposition to the ruling *reth*, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the *reth* must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new *reth* Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new reth, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan.

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the reth, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "clans" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests.

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Faloje about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of reths, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1945
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the traditional Shilluk polity, the two nearest to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbainy a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Arerpiur just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbainy of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the reth they may have acted as messengers of the reth, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the reth the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

Details of these various officers are given in Appendix 1. Of the eleven Cclo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbainy, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government as the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building: it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the reth's own behaviour: he may not sit upon the sandstone mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the reth found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new reth comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, hold prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the reth by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *parke mooyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Duk, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[1] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Duk and Cal. This is brought by the people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of doom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Duk", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, but no new building in mud was done.

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1. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1946) 1946
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to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Duk are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Duk. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Duk makes periodical excursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and the most march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stools[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyeer.

As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 60 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944) 1946
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are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, so far as we could judge. *Twot* is the word used for the *reth*'s messengers.

11. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reth* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reth*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

13. *Nyahwor*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

14. Our impression of these ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

15. Cerfor, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfor is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is 100 yards N.E. of Cerfor.

16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Fung" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

18. P. Munro, "The installation of the *reth* of the Choi", *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 143 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

19. This remark shows that the property of the *reth* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944)1946
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such is the spiritual common of Nyikang and all reths that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang.

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second reth of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable.

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1913 however, at the time of the installation of reth Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the reth to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of reth Fadiet as well, but now the petitioner of 1913 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1913 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 65) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944) 1946
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APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF CHIEFS COMPOSING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

The following chiefs compound the electoral college in 1943:-

1. Chief of Debaio Kwom (*chief of Gol Nyikang*).
2. " " Golbaiey - - - Dhiang).
3. " " Mwomo.
4. " " Tungo.
5. " " Dolal Ajok.
6. " " Bur Nyilim (*Akwedwai division*).
7. " " Olbongo (*Detwok division*).
8. " " Fadit (*Wau division*).
9. " " Owoliey Olwa (*Malakal division*).
10. " " Adodo Dettim.
11. " " Fuoyikang.
12. " " Arago (*Detwok division*).
13. " " Fadiang (*Golbaiey division*).
14. " " Yoiey (*Fadenbo division*).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are explained adequately in the text.

Nos. 5, 8, and 11 are the traditional big chiefs, whose ancestors held the *lau dwong* or "high robe of office" from Nyikang. They are still in possession of the *lau dwong*.

Nos. 7 and 10 have only recently been displaced by Government from the *lau dwong* owing to inefficiency. The *lau dwong* will naturally tend to revert to their lineages when a vacancy occurs.

Nos. 6 and 9 are chiefs with an ancient claim to the *lau dwong* which their ancestors possessed in the days of Nyikang. They have sunk into unimportance, because of the shrinkage of their lineage.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the three Kwareth members.

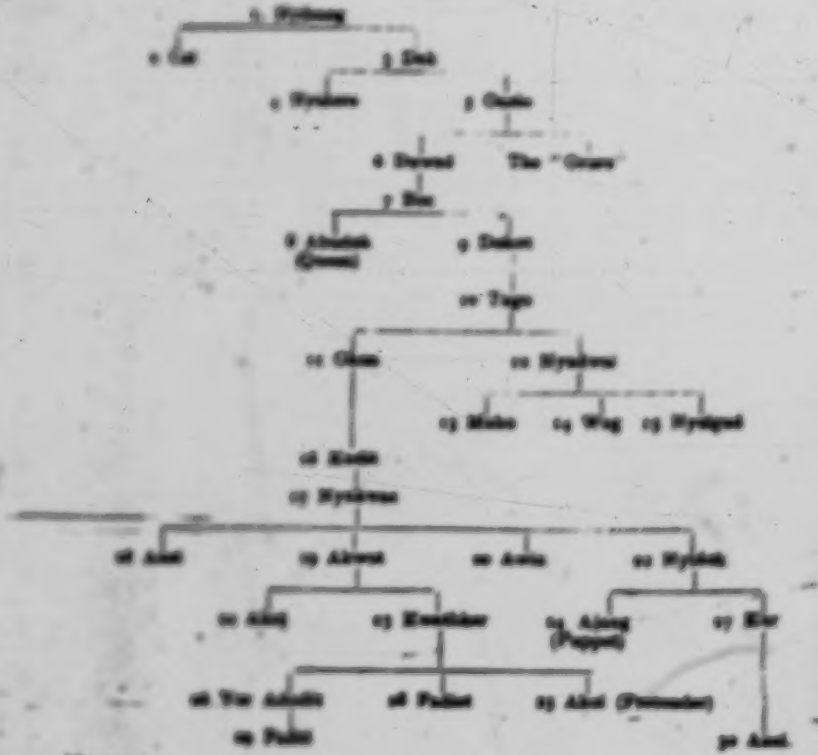
Nos. 13, the chief of Fadiang, is looked upon as the chief of all the Kwareth.

APPENDIX IV.

List of Shilluk Reths

[73] As given by Pumphrey (*op. cit*) and Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* p. 44.

This supersedes the earlier list given by Seligman in "The Cult of Nyikang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk" p. 218.



Note.

[74] The spelling has been altered in a few important cases to bring it more in line with the decisions of the *Rejal* Conference.

The tradition is only sound as far back as reth Tugo (10).

There is a doubt about Cal (2) as to whether he was reth, or whether he stayed behind at the time of Nyikang's migration to become the leader of the Acholi.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Dakwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kajo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were enlisted to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

On the arrival of the party at Kajo an ox was sacrificed as *ahaik* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kwogo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *keglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*yam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *ahaik*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared to one of the *kwogwok* in a dream and had demanded that this unconditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwo Nyikir* took over. *kwo Nyikir* come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*.[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled less but not *far* long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party travelled with the *reth*; remains said it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *ahaik*. The word is derived from the verb *hathi*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kajo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight shi-wench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Dakwo Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Pedho Ngo ("the low country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

533 destroyed, *Yor* son of Nyidhwogo, *the country is ruined*," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[778] Of Kwoikan, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kwoikan) *ete kwey abei the nyiwang kwidi the wudi nini*,
[78] "Kurjang the fierce one, whom he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlements of Fanyikwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[574] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dervish, Fahang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and skins of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dango* (*or Yal*) took place. The *kangrwk*,
nyirrth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
awwo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[777 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
303] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (*or gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *awwo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth*-elect, *Kur wad* Fadni, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
766 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
reth to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa Nyikir*, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

766 The *kwa Nyikir* then set out for Debwoi where a similar ceremony was
to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *awwo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

By A. Paul

Deputy Governor, Kassala Province

IT is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*.

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since.

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice.

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahri*, were much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Etbai.*

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 seen that in general all these essential stages were faithfully fulfilled, though there was some variation in detail.

The Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti

Preparations for the installation began almost as soon as the late *reth* was laid in the hut at Debwor and reached a crescendo of activity towards the end of the year. One of the most important ceremonies is the expedition to *podhe manyo* which lies to the north of the present Shilluk boundaries. [173] According to tradition, this region was originally occupied by *reth* Dak, son of Nyikang, or at least regarded as legitimate raiding country, which in fact *podhe manyo* means. Mr. J. L. Baker has added to our information on this subject[11] and writes as follows:

"One of the major ceremonies (*kwer*) prior to the installation does not appear to have been recorded. I was not able to attend myself, but I am creditably informed that this is what happens.

"On the return of the men of Akwabai from *podhe manyo*, having brought silver wristlets and a number of rings (*gwel*) such as are normally worn by important Shilluk on the first knuckle of each finger, they visit Abworo and then Fashoda. Here the *reth* calls the *bung* Nyikango (slaves of Nyikang) and orders them to take this silver to the shrine of Akurwa where it remains. I suggest that represents the spoils of victory of the raiding party.

[778] "Then the effigy of Dak (the old one) is taken to Nyikang's island to find Nyikang. He is carried in a Shilluk canoe by the *kwa* Nyikwom and accompanied by the men of Moro whose job it is to dive for Nyikang when the time comes. When they arrive at the island, which is just north of Geiger,[12] the small drum (that of Nyikang) is beaten near the bank of the river and Dak watches the water. A white bird (no special kind) should appear to show that Nyikang is near.

643 "The diver then picks up the *jum* Nyikango (offerings for Nyikang)
776 and searches for Nyikang under the water. If Nyikang is pleased to accompany
778 the party, he comes out of the water and, having accepted the offerings, is wrapped in cloth and taken to Akurwa, escorted by Dak and the *kwa* Nyikwom. At Akurwa, it is for him to give his agreement to the proposed *reth* as candidate for the installation. The stage is now set and all that remains is the collection of hippo-hide whips (*angero*) for the *kwa* Nyikwom, which must be prepared for them, and the making of the new effigy of Nyikang. Without these preliminaries and the consent of Nyikang, signified by his presence, the installation could not take place."

By mid-January, 1952, these preparations and those which concern the *reth* were nearing completion. The installation was due to take place. There were, however, the usual and inevitable delays and it was not until towards the end of that month that Nyikang and Dak, represented in the effigies, came

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[12] On the east bank and well north of the present boundaries of Shilluk country.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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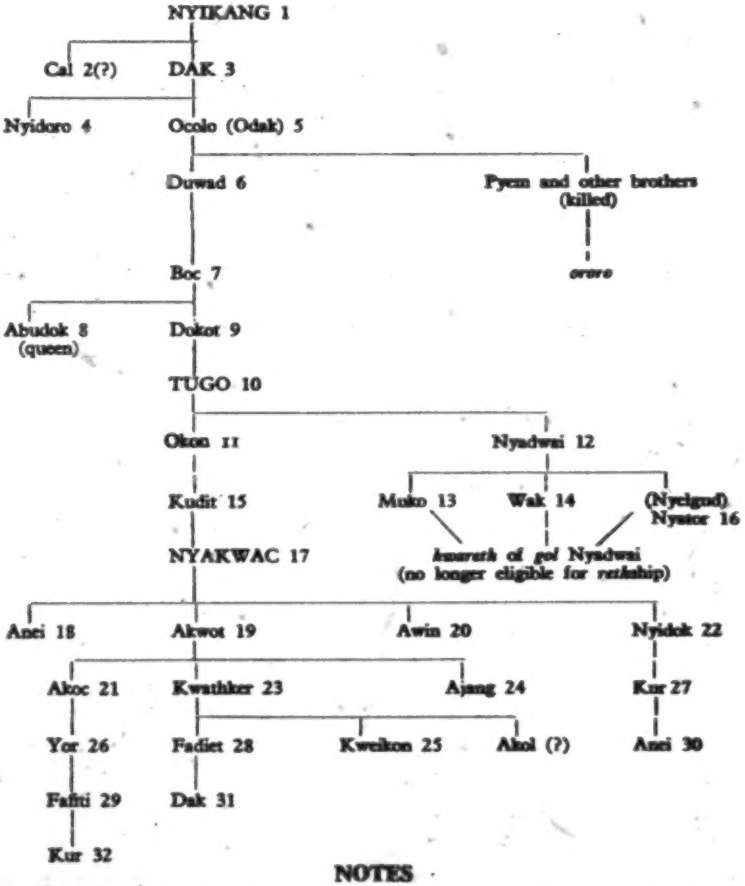
APPENDIX I.
REVISED LIST OF SHILLUK RETHS.



NOTES

173 643 1. Shilluk *reths* prior to Tugo are listed according to tradition, but there are some inconsistencies. Cal, for example, who is said to be a half-brother of Dak, lived at Dinyo near Tonga, but most Shilluk say that he was

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwa* Nyimol the main *ororo* clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

APPENDIX II.

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26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country.

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*.

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH.

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind.

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically

Cp. 319]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs, they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief.

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence.

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given.

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. »

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship,

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that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

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173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

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in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of